

Clinton's
health-careful
plan

PAGE 3

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THE CASE FOR

INTERVENTION

IN THE BALKANS



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by Paul Hockenos

PAGE 9



Democratic Rep. Mike Espy of Mississippi exemplifies the new breed of black legislators.

Blacks count on gains in Congress

By Salim Muwakkil

THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS ARE EXPECTED TO boost black voting strength in Congress by more than 40 percent, and, as is fitting in this so-called year of the woman, much of that new clout will fall into the hands of African-American females.

When the 103rd Congress convenes next January, it will include at least 12—perhaps as many as 15—new members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC). This explosion in black congressional membership is primarily a product of the post-1990 census redistricting and the 1982 amendment to the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which mandates that minority representation be maximized. The House would need 52 black members to accurately reflect African-Americans' percentage of the U.S. population. The 26 current CBC members are all in the House. However, with the expected election of Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois to the U.S. Senate, that too is likely to change.

Braun's audacious quest to become the country's first black woman senator deservedly has attracted much of the

media's attention. But campaign 1992 promises additional significant gains for African-Americans. The newly drawn, predominantly black district seats are all located in eight Southern states and Maryland. And although the eligible black electorate in this region is proportionately larger than in the North, many Southern states have not had black congressional representation since the Reconstruction era.

THE CALL OF THE SOUTH

Most observers believe that a vast majority, if not all, of the black candidates running in the newly drawn Southern districts will be victorious. That means the new Congress will contain one new member from Alabama, two—possibly three—from Florida, two each from Georgia and North Carolina, and one each from Louisiana, Maryland, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia.

"After the woman's caucus, the CBC will have the second-largest caucus in the Congress," says Mary Dickson, an aide to Rep. Mike Espy (D-MS). "And since there may be as many as seven new African-American women joining the four females already in the CBC, there will be a lot of caucus interlocking. We may be on the verge of some major changes in congressional dynamics." The speed of these increases in CBC strength is almost dizzying. In 1969, there were just 10 black House members, and the number didn't reach 20 until 1983.

But some of those changes may be troublesome. Already, there are significant disagreements within the group, and as their numbers grow those differences are certain to sharpen. For example, Espy is an avid supporter of the National Rifle Association (NRA), a group that has been scornfully denounced by many of his CBC colleagues for its position on gun-control legislation. But Espy, who represents a largely rural and interracial district in Mississippi, is not driven by the same concerns as his urban brethren.

THE ESPY MODEL

In many ways, Espy is a prototype of the new breed. Elected in 1988 as the first African-American to represent Mississippi since Reconstruction, he had to weather harsh criticism from CBC members for some of his more conservative positions—his support of capital punishment and school prayer, and his early endorsement of presidential candidate and fellow Southerner Bill Clinton. Despite his divergence from the liberal CBC creed, Espy is highly regarded and works well within the caucus on other issues of general concern.

"The CBC is not a monolith," says Ronald Walters, chairman of Howard University's political science department. "And as it grows it will become increasingly less uniform. But I think it would be safe to say that as long as the CBC exists, it will retain its larger ideological viewpoint and continue to stay strong on certain core issues concerning racism and equal opportunity."

Many of the expected new arrivals already are experienced

legislators, having served in state government before their election to Congress. Eddie Bernice Johnson, who is running in Texas' 30th Congressional District in Dallas, has been a state senator since 1972. The candidate running in Georgia's 11th District (Atlanta) is Cynthia McKinney, a second-term state senator and an outspoken liberal whose strong opposition to Desert Storm made many enemies in her state legislature. One of those who opposed her on the war issue was state Senator Sanford Bishop. He is running for Congress from Georgia's 2nd District (Macon) and is heavily favored to join McKinney in their state's congressional delegation.

HASTINGS' COMEBACK

Melvin Watt is one of two candidates running in North Carolina. A former state senator, Watt assailed the wasteful military budget in his campaign for a 12th District seat. The other, from the state's 1st District, is Eva Clayton, who has 10 years experience as a county commissioner. In Florida, a sharecropper's daughter last month became the first black elected to Congress from that state in 122 years. She is state Senator Carrie Meek, who won the Democratic primary in Florida's 17th District, the region that bore the brunt of Hurricane Andrew's fury. She has no Republican opponent.

INSIDE STORY

Meek is expected to be joined in the Florida delegation by Corrine Brown, who's running in the 3rd District, which includes Jacksonville and Orlando. A wild card in the state's political deck is former U.S. District Judge Alcee Hastings, whose impeachment was recently overturned in a landmark ruling. Following the judicial reversal, Hastings triumphed in an October primary runoff and is now the front-runner for the state's 23rd District congressional seat.

In Alabama, Earl Hilliard is favored to become the state's first black member of Congress in more than a century. He's running in the state's 7th Congressional District, which incorporates Birmingham and Montgomery. In nearby Louisiana, Faye Williams is trying for Congress a second time. Williams, a former congressional aide, narrowly lost her first attempt to win a House seat. She charged that government harassment contributed to her defeat in that race. Albert Wynn is expected to prevail in his race for Maryland's newly created 4th District. Pundits predict that South Carolina's virgin 6th District seat will go to Jim Clyburn. And Robert Scott is given the nod for Virginia's 3rd District.

A PANTHER AND A SCHOLAR

In addition to those new faces in redistricted boundaries, changes are also expected in some of the older districts. Chicago Alderman Bobby Rush, who was deputy minister of communications for the Illinois Black Panther Party in the '60s, defeated incumbent Rep. Charles Hayes in a Democratic primary race in the state's 1st District. With weak Republican opposition, Rush will win easily and arrive on Capitol Hill with a well-honed and nuanced political style.

In what seemed to be a companion victory to Rush's in the spring primaries, Rhodes scholar Mel Reynolds defeated controversial Democratic Rep. Gus Savage. During the bitter campaign, Savage pushed a black nationalist agenda and accused Reynolds of being an "uncle Tom" and an unprincipled recipient of lavish Jewish support. Like Rush, Reynolds emphasizes coalitions rather than nationalism, and the two embody a new kind of hybrid politics that seems quite at home with the other new blacks in Congress. And like many of the other incoming congressional freshmen, they are strong supporters of presidential candidate Bill Clinton.

If Arkansan Clinton triumphs and brings his Southern accent into the White House, he'll be speaking much the same language as the new crop of African-American Southerners. Here's hoping they find more in common with him than do the urban blacks he has ignored during his campaign. ■

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Inside Story: Adding to the Legislature's blacklist	2
Clinton's health-careful proposal	3
Iraqgate: a chronology	4
In Short	6
Suburbia: this year's political battleground	7
New Hampshire voters tackle education funding	8
The case for intervention in the Balkans	9
Obituary: Willy Brandt	10
The poisoning of the National Toxics Campaign	11
Editorial	14
Letters	15
Notes from the Back of the Class	16
Viewpoint: Raising political expectations	17
In Print: Looking for the real Malcolm X	18
Robbie Conal's guerrilla art	19
Media Beat by Pat Aufderheide	19
In Print: Devil's dictionaries for politics	21
Friedrich Nietzsche on George Bush	24

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By John B. Judis
Washington D.C.

Clinton's changing bill of health

Bill Clinton has promised that if elected president, he will propose "sweeping, fundamental health care reform" within the first 100 days of his presidency, but it is not clear what kind of plan it will be.

During the Democratic primaries, Clinton endorsed the "pay or play" plan favored by Senate Democratic leaders. This plan would require employers either to provide health insurance to their workers or pay taxes into a fund that would finance a government health insurance program for all the uninsured.

But in his economic plan, "Putting People First," that he introduced last June and in his Sept. 25 speech on health care in Rahway, N.J., Clinton has moved quietly away from the Democratic bill toward the "managed care" approach favored by Stanford economist Alain Enthoven. This approach, which has also influenced some Bush administration health experts, focuses on forcing employers and individuals to enroll in huge health-maintenance organizations (HMOs) or preferred-provider organizations (PPOs).

Clinton has also begun to leaven his commitment to providing universal coverage. He now favors a "phased-in" approach that would be initially limited to reforms that would not require any new spending or taxes.

These changes in Clinton's position may merely be intended to deflect George Bush's charges that he favors socialized medicine or is a "tax-and-spend Democrat." But his backtracking from universal coverage may also reflect a more conservative strain in Clinton's thinking that, if he is elected, could become even more visible next January.

COST CONTAINMENT

The plan Clinton unveiled last month in New Jersey retains some features of the Senate's "pay or play" proposal. Employers would have to provide their employees with a "required comprehensive schedule of benefits." Those who remain uninsured would be enrolled in public plans that would purchase coverage on their behalf. But Clinton now balks at enacting the entire plan in his first 100 days.

He wants to "phase in" two of the most controversial parts—mandated coverage for small business employees, who represent the bulk of the work force, and long-term care for Medicare recipients. He may even want to delay requiring all large employers to insure their employees.

Clinton's first step would be to reform the health insurance industry. The measures he proposes are very similar to those being considered by the Bush administration. Like Bush, he insists that all insurers and providers use a standard claim form. He also wants to require that insurance companies use "community-based rating" to set premiums rather than setting premiums based on an individual's health experience. And he wants to forbid firms from denying individuals coverage because of pre-existing conditions.

Insurers could still base their coverage on the number of individuals in a plan, but Clinton proposes that "small business people go into large pools so that they can achieve the same cost per employee that large companies ... can achieve."

These reforms are clearly desirable, but if

community rating is enacted without requiring that all businesses purchase insurance, it could have perverse effects. As Edie Rasell of the Economic Policy Institute points out, community rating—by including many ill or potentially ill people who are presently uninsured—would raise the premiums that many businesses now pay. It could even discourage them from buying insurance without encouraging new firms to purchase it. The ranks of the uninsured might swell.

HEALTH CARE CARTELS

Clinton also plans to reduce health care costs by embracing Enthoven's HMO strategy. Enthoven has argued that in order to reduce these costs, businesses should be coerced through tax penalties to shift their coverage from expensive fee-for-service plans like Blue Cross to less costly HMOs like Kaiser-Permanente. Enthoven would deny tax deductions to businesses for anything above the least costly comprehensive plan.

Probably for political reasons, Clinton does not say what kind of incentives or penalties he would use to assure compliance, but he promises to "give people real incentives to be in managed-care networks so that the costs can be held down by the forces of the marketplace."

Requiring employers and employees to choose the lowest cost alternative and strengthening the bargaining power of small businesses and individuals by uniting them in large purchasing pools would hold down prices. Lower prices and community rating would probably drive many of the nation's 1,500 health insurers out of business. Currently, many of these companies stay around by "cherry picking" clients with minimal health risks. Under Clinton's plan, only a few enor-

mous insurance-hospital-doctor cartels—or to use his term, networks—would remain. Fewer companies—through economies of scale—would mean less administrative overhead and therefore lower costs.

Some of Clinton's advisers believe health reform should stop there, but others favor holding down costs directly through regulatory boards. Clinton has already encouraged other states to follow Maryland's example and set standard hospital fees. In his New Jersey speech, Clinton proposed a "board composed of consumers and advisers" that would set "national spending targets for aggregate health care expenditures every year." On a

Clinton's backtracking from universal health coverage may reflect a conservative strain in his thinking that, if he is elected, could become more visible in January.

state level these boards would "limit a network's total spending without interfering with its practices." Presumably, the boards would restrict what each HMO or PPO could charge for comprehensive coverage.

By holding down the fee HMOs charge each individual and the prices that hospitals charge for services, Clinton's plan would probably depress the growth of doctors'

salaries and discourage hospitals from extravagant purchases of new technology.

TIMING QUESTION

Even in its milquetoast version, Clinton's plan is preferable to Bush's. The president's plan would leave cost control entirely to the market. And while Clinton might postpone mandating that all employers be required to provide insurance to their employees, Bush rejects any such requirement.

One looming question about Clinton's program is its timing. If he wins by a sizeable margin, and if the Democrats, as expected, control the House and the Senate, Clinton could pass almost any health care program he wants in his first six months. But by the last two years of his term, legislative proposals will become ensnared in the 1996 election. If he omits universal coverage or mandatory cost controls from his first health care bill, he may never be able to get them. (Clinton doesn't have to begin mandated coverage the first year; but if he wants it later, he has to include provisions within his first legislation to phase it in automatically.)

Questions can also be raised about whether a managed-care strategy best solves the problems of health cost, access and quality. While managed care promises to control costs better than the Senate Democrats' pay or play plan, it would probably be less effective than the single-payer Canadian-style national health insurance system favored by Sen. Bob Kerry (D-NE) and many of this year's liberal Democratic Senate candidates. A managed-care strategy would retain, for one thing, levels of private bureaucracy that a single-payer system would eliminate.

A managed-care system would also virtually eliminate consumer choice, placing the selection of doctor and hospital in the hands of the employer. And it might also encourage the continuation of a two-tier system of health care, whereby the working poor and the unemployed receive minimum coverage and the middle and upper classes enjoy far more extensive benefits.

But managed care also has undeniable political advantages. It could be phased in. And it would not require a large initial tax increase. (Rasell estimates \$67 billion in extra federal spending the first year, but other estimates go much higher.) Both the single-payer and managed-care plan would uproot and transform the health care industry, but managed care would let the market rather than the government preside over the destruction of health insurance firms and the decline in doctors' salaries.

If Clinton carries out a comprehensive managed-care strategy that includes universal coverage, it could dramatically improve American health care. Germany, after all, has an employer-mandated system that retains private insurers and works as well as Canada's single-payer system. The lingering question about Clinton, which is posed by his election-year meandering, is whether he will be willing to fight next January for a comprehensive solution—or whether he will be content with politically safe but ineffective health care initiatives.



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Iraqgate: Who, what, when, where and why

By Joel Bleifuss

EVENTUALLY, IN ONE WAY OR another, luck runs out. It has for George Bush, whose presidency is now being interred under a historic marker that appropriately reads: "George Bush—Expired as president when the truth caught up."

Bush will get due credit for ushering in the Great Recession. He will also be remembered for spending his last 100 days responding to charges that his administration provided Saddam Hussein with money that helped subsidize the development of Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons infrastructure.

Iraqgate is not news. Some in the media began exposing the scandal before the first bombs fell on Baghdad. But such stories were mostly ignored, and probably would still be if not for columnist William Safire, Atlanta Federal Judge Marvin Shoob and House Banking Committee Chairman Henry Gonzalez (D-TX). These three men have turned up the heat on the Bush administration's obstruction of the Justice Department's prosecution of the Atlanta branch of the Italian bank, BNL (Banca Nazionale del Lavoro). When the gov-

The Bush camp has splintered, with each Iraqgate player pointing a finger at someone other than himself.

ernment's case dissolved in early October, the Iraqgate scandal reached a high boil. Each passing day saw one incriminating document after another surface.

The Bush camp splintered, each player pointing the finger at anyone other than himself. The president can retire to enjoy his Halcyon daze; others may not be so lucky. Two of Bush's most loyal subalterns, Director of Central Intelligence Robert Gates and Attorney General William Barr are presiding over a bitter interdepartmental war. Both want to salvage their careers—and avoid federal charges of obstruction of justice.

Their feud diverts attention from a more important fact: the U.S. helped arm Saddam Hussein. Eight days before Iraq invaded Kuwait, U.S. Ambassador April Glaspie assured Saddam Hussein that the U.S. had no opinion on the intensifying border conflict between Iran and Kuwait. Clearly, Hussein gave the U.S. deferral his own spin—believing that if Iraq invaded Kuwait, the U.S., which had in the previous year subsidized Iraq's weapons buildup, would do nothing more than squawk.

In the last presidential debate, Ross Perot raised questions about an Iraqgate cover-up. He said, "I suggest that in a free society owned by the people, the American people ought to know what we told Ambassador Glaspie to

tell Saddam Hussein, because we spent a lot of money and risked lives and lost lives in that effort and did not accomplish most of our objectives." And vice-presidential candidate Al Gore has charged that the Iraqgate cover-up is a larger scandal than Watergate.

For more information on the subject, Perot and Gore should consult the following abridged history of the Bush administration's relations with Iraq.

1981

Iraq first asks the BNL branch in Brescia, Italy, a bank owned by the Italian government, for a line of credit that would be used to buy weapons from an Italian company. That company later sold land mines to Iraq.

1982

President Ronald Reagan removes Iraq from the list of countries that sponsor terrorism.

1983

Guaranteed loans from the agriculture department provide Iraq with \$365 million—\$1 million per day—in U.S. agricultural subsidies.

1985

Iraq asks the BNL branch in Atlanta to process its applications for loans from the U.S. Agriculture Department's Commodity Credit Corp.

1986

January: CIA and National Security Council officials meet to discuss giving Iran intelligence information about Iraq. CIA Deputy Director of Intelligence Robert Gates argues against giving information about Iraq to Iran. He is overruled by the NSC.

1987

Vice President George Bush, who supports both loan credits and guarantees to Iraq, says the U.S. must build a "solid relationship with Iraq for the future."

February: BNL-Atlanta initiates \$2.1 billion in secret commercial loans to Iraq.

1988

August: Iran-Iraq war ends. Iraq gasses Kurdish civilians.

1989

March 24: Secretary of State James Baker is warned in a secret memo prepared by his staff that "Iraq retains its heavy-handed approach to foreign affairs ... and is working hard at chemical and biological weapons and new missiles."

April: A Department of Energy nuclear proliferation expert reports that Iraq has embarked on an atomic bomb building program.

June: Eximbank, an independent U.S. banking agency, as well as the Federal Reserve and the CIA produce a joint study, concluding

that Iraq plans to "integrate" U.S. technology "directly into Iraq's planned missile, tank and armored personnel carrier industries."

August 4: FBI raids BNL-Atlanta's office, shuts it down and carts off files. According to William Safire, the FBI discovers that the Agriculture Department's guaranteed loans to Iraq have been used to buy sensitive military technology. Safire says his information came from a "high State Department official."

September: The CIA reports to Secretary of State James Baker that Iraq is obtaining nuclear technology through an international network of front companies.

October: State Department officials send Secretary of State Baker a memo advising him that the only way to protect the Iraqi aid program from congressional investigation is to "wall off" the Agriculture Department's credit program from the BNL investigation. Baker initials this recommendation.

October 2: President Bush signs National Security Directive 26, which advocates U.S. trade with Iraq. It states: "Access to the Persian Gulf and the key friendly states in the area is vital to U.S. national security."

October 26: Baker calls Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter and asks him to increase agricultural trade credits for Iraq.

November: Yeutter's department provides \$1 billion in U.S. insured trade credits for Iraq. Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger tells a wary Treasury Department, "Our ability to influence Iraqi behavior in areas from Lebanon to the Middle East peace process to missile proliferation is enhanced by expanded trade."

1990

January: The U.S. Congress bans loans to Iraq and eight other countries judged hostile to U.S. interests.

January 17: Bush exempts Iraq from the congressional ban.

February: A State Department specialist on the Middle East, John Kelly, sends a memo to Undersecretary of State for Policy Robert Kimmitt complaining about the slowness of the Agriculture Department's loans to Iraq. He writes that these loan credits are "a key component of the relationship and failure to approve the [loans] will feed Saddam's paranoia and accelerate his swing against us."

February 6: A lawyer for the New York Federal Reserve Bank, which is responsible for regulating BNL's U.S. operations, writes in a memo: "A planned trip to Italy by criminal investigators was put off because BNL asserted concerns regarding the Italian press. ... A trip to Istanbul [to investigate BNL] was put off at the request of Attorney General Richard Thornburgh."

March: According to court documents, Italian Ambassador Rinaldo Petrignani tells Thorn-

burgh that incriminating BNL and its Italian officials would be "tantamount to a slap in the face of the Italians." (Both men now claim they have no recollection of such a conversation.)

April: Saddam Hussein threatens to "make the fire eat up half of Israel."

April 16: The Interagency Deputies Committee of the National Security Council, headed by Deputy National Security Adviser Robert Gates, meets in the White House and considers changing U.S. policy toward Iraq.

April 17: Treasury Department withholds \$500 million of agricultural commodity trade credits previously earmarked for Iraq.

May 25: According to a Treasury Department memo, the National Security Council staff wants to prevent the Agricultural credit programs "from being cancelled as this would exacerbate the already strained foreign policy relations with Iraq."

July 25: U.S. Ambassador to Iraq April Glaspie assures Hussein that the U.S. has taken no position on Iraq's border dispute with Kuwait.

July 29: The CIA learns that there is a high degree of probability that Iraq is going to invade Kuwait.

July 31: Bush sends officials over to Congress to testify against imposing sanctions against Iraq.

August 2: Iraq invades Kuwait.

August: Post-invasion CIA assessments conclude that Iraq is not poised to invade Saudi Arabia.

September 1: Italian Ambassador Rinaldo Petrignani accompanied BNL officials to a meeting with Justice Department prosecutors and investigators. According to a Justice Department memo, at that meeting Petrignani said that BNL "was the victim of a terrible fraud" and that the bank's good name "is of great importance as the Italian state is a majority owner."

September 11: Bush addresses a joint session of Congress and claims that by August 5, Iraq had amassed 120,000 troops and 850 tanks in Kuwait and was poised to invade Saudi Arabia. On the day Bush addresses the joint session, the Defense Department estimates that as many as 150,000 troops and 1,500 tanks are in Kuwait.

A Soviet commercial satellite takes photos of Kuwait. The Soviet satellite agency later sells the photos to ABC News and the *St. Petersburg Times*. According to two U.S. satellite image specialists, the photos show no evidence of a massive troop buildup. (See *In These Times* Feb. 27, 1991.)

September: The assistant attorney general for legislative affairs writes a memo to Thornburgh that reads: "Our best attempt to thwart any further congressional inquiry by the House Banking Committee into [BNL loans to Iraq] is to have you contact [House Banking]

Chairman Gonzalez directly."

September 26: Thornburgh, citing national security concerns, tells Gonzalez not to investigate BNL. (Thornburgh later claims he has "no recollection" of calling Gonzalez.)

September 28: Gonzalez refuses to call off his investigation..

December 18: State Department writes a memo to the Justice Department saying that Justice's investigation of BNL does not raise national security concerns.

1991

January: The CIA learns that BNL-Atlanta loaned money to Iraq with the approval of BNL-Rome.

February 15: The Defense Intelligence Agency office in Rome reports back to Washington that the BNL branch in Brescia, Italy, has loaned Iraq \$225 million to buy Italian land mines.

February 28: Allied victory is declared in Gulf War. Justice Department indicts BNL-Atlanta director Christopher Drogoul for illegally loaning more than \$5 billion to Iraq and for accepting \$2.5 million in Iraqi bribes.

April 8: Nicholas Rostow, the general counsel to the National Security Council, organizes a special meeting of administration lawyers. This meeting is attended by Boyden Gray, President Bush's general counsel, Elizabeth Rindskopf, the CIA general counsel, Fred Green, the National Security Agency counsel, and other lawyers representing the Departments of Justice, Defense, State, Treasury, Commerce, Agriculture and Energy. Rostow notifies these government lawyers that Congress is beginning to probe the White House's support of Iraq prior to the war. He tells the assembled legal team, "The National Security Council is providing coordination for the administration's response to congressional document requests for Iraq-related material." He advises the lawyers that any congressional request for documents should be screened for "issues of executive privilege (deliberative process, foreign relations, national security, etc.)." He then writes, "Alternatives to providing documents should be explored."

June 4: The Commerce Department admits that it earlier deleted relevant information from export documents. The deletions were made to hide the fact that the department had been providing export licenses for the shipment of military-related hardware to Iraq.

July: A CIA report from Stanley Moskowitz, the CIA's liaison with Congress, states that BNL officials in Rome knew what was going on in BNL-Atlanta prior to the February indictment of Drogoul. Further, according to Moskowitz, the Iraqi loans were "signed by bank officers in Rome."

1992

May 15: Attorney General William Barr writes Gonzalez charging that he has "harmed national security" by revealing details of the Bush administration's policy toward Iraq prior to the Gulf War, but Barr provides no evidence of how national security was harmed. Gonzalez writes back that Barr's complaints

are politically motivated.

June 2: Drogoul pleads guilty to bank fraud. Federal Judge Marvin Shoob asks the Justice Department to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate the BNL case.

July 24: CIA Director Gates writes Gonzalez, claiming that the CIA has cooperated fully with federal prosecutors in the BNL case. Gates chides Gonzalez for disclosing the fact that U.S. intelligence agencies were aware of Iraq's military development program.

July 30: Gonzalez publicly releases Gates' letter.

August: The former head of the FBI's Atlanta field office accuses the Justice Department of having "delayed indictments for nearly a year in the \$5 billion [BNL] scandal."

August 10: Barr rejects the House Judiciary Committee's request for appointment of an independent counsel to investigate the Bush Administration's pre-invasion policy toward Iraq.

September 4: Barr informs Gonzalez in writing that he will not comply with a House Banking Committee subpoena for BNL-related information.

September 8: The State Department, the Commerce Department, the Customs Service, the CIA, the National Security Agency and the DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency) follow the Justice Department's lead and refuse to respond to the Banking Committee subpoenas.

September 14: Gonzalez, on the floor of the House of Representatives, publicly discloses information from the above-mentioned July 1991 CIA report that BNL officials in Rome approved loans to Iraq. This stuns federal prosecutors in Atlanta, but this information surely came as no surprise to the Justice Department, the CIA or National Security Council, all of which cooperated closely on releasing any information about U.S. relations with Iraq. (See entry for April 8, 1991.)

September 17: The CIA and the Justice Department agree that they will lie to Justice Department prosecutors in Atlanta. The CIA tells the prosecutors that the only information the agency has on BNL is publicly available.

September 19: The Justice Department announces that it will release documents regarding CIA knowledge of BNL to Judge Shoob.

September 23: Gonzalez announces that he has received classified information showing that in January 1991 the CIA knew that BNL headquarters in Rome had approved the loans. He writes CIA Director Gates, admonishing him for lying to federal prosecutors about the BNL scandal.

September 29: Senate Intelligence Committee leaders write Gates, accusing him of misleading the Justice Department, federal prosecutors and Judge Shoob about CIA knowledge of BNL.

October 1: The Justice Department allows BNL-Atlanta Director Drogoul to withdraw his

guilty plea, thereby sending the case to trial.

October 5: Judge Shoob recuses himself from the case, saying he has concluded that "it is likely that the U.S. intelligence agencies were aware of BNL-Atlanta's relationship with Iraq." Shoob also charges, "The CIA continues to be uncooperative in attempts to discover information about its knowledge of or involvement in the funding of Iraq by BNL-Atlanta."

October 6: Sen. David Boren (D-OK) accuses the CIA of lying to Justice Department officials and alleges a cover-up. The CIA admits it gave incorrect information to the Justice Department and federal prosecutors, and the CIA also acknowledges that it didn't release all relevant documents on BNL. The CIA says that it will investigate itself. But before even launching that investigation, the CIA claims it made an honest mistake and adds there was "no attempt to mislead anyone or cover up anything."

October 7: Gates orders the CIA inspector general to investigate the oversight. Sen. Boren claims the Justice Department may also have been involved in a cover-up.

Elizabeth Rindskopf, the CIA's head lawyer, announced that the CIA's September 17 report was "an honest mistake that was certainly regrettable." She blamed an inadequate filing system. Unlikely. Recall that Rindskopf was a member of the team of lawyers led by the National Security Council's Attorney Nicholas Rostow. Their mission was to control access to government documents relating to the Bush administration's support of Iraq. To that end he proposed the group explore "alternatives to providing documents." (See entry for April 8, 1991.)

October 8: CIA officials tell a closed-door hearing of the Senate Intelligence Committee that a senior Justice Department official told the agency to withhold information on BNL and provide Atlanta prosecutors with incomplete and misleading information. The CIA officials claim the agency honored these requests.

October 9: The Justice Department denies that it asked the CIA to withhold information from the Atlanta prosecutors. Justice accuses the CIA of providing it with classified BNL documents in a haphazard manner and suggests that the CIA withheld relevant documents. That same day the CIA turns over yet another document. The Senate Select Intelligence Committee announces it will investigate.

October 10: The FBI announces that it will investigate the BNL case. The CIA denies that CIA officials told the Senate Intelligence Committee that the agency withheld information at the Justice Department's request. The CIA blames the news media for reporting a false story.

October 11: A Justice Department spokesman says that the Justice Department's Office of Professional Responsibility will handle the investigation of the Justice Department itself and the CIA. The spokesman adds that the FBI will help with—but not lead—the investigation.

The *New York Times'* Elaine Sciolino reports that according to Boren, FBI Director William Sessions told him that since Justice Depart-

ment officials might be targets of the investigation, the "Justice Department will not participate in the inquiry and the FBI will not share information."

Justice Department spokesman Paul McNulty tells Sciolino, "The department got the FBI into the investigation to assist us. The public integrity section of the Justice Department is in charge—working with the FBI." The Public Integrity Section is overseen by Assistant Attorney General Robert S. Mueller III, who was directly involved in withholding information from federal prosecutors in Atlanta.

October 12: ABC News reports that FBI Director Sessions is being investigated by the Justice Department's Office of Professional Responsibility for improper use of government airplanes and abuse of telephone privileges.

Boren tells the media, "The timing of the accusations against Judge Sessions makes me wonder if an attempt is being made to pressure him not to conduct an independent investigation."

October 13: Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH) of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence writes Barr, asking him to appoint a special prosecutor. He explains that allegations raised in the BNL-Atlanta court proceedings indicate that this case could involve "secret U.S. government involvement in arms sales to Iraq, as well as a possible cover-up." He continues, "Since very high-level officials may well have been knowledgeable of or involved in any effort to absolve BNL-Rome of complicity in the activities of BNL-Atlanta, no arm of the executive branch can investigate U.S. government conduct in this case without at least the appearance of a conflict of interest." Gonzalez writes to Barr, asking him to appoint a special prosecutor and to "address the repeated, clear failures and obstruction of the leadership of the Justice Department." The best way to accomplish this, advises Gonzalez, is to "do the right thing and submit your resignation at once."

October 14: Boren writes Barr asking him to appoint an independent counsel. He states, "A truly independent investigation is required to determine whether federal crimes were committed in the government's handling [of the BNL case]." Boren charges that both the Justice Department and the CIA have engaged in a BNL cover-up.

October 15: Another CIA document comes to light, this one is a cable from the CIA station chief in Rome who quotes a source of unknown reliability as saying that officials of both the U.S. and Italy were bribed in connection with the BNL loans to Iraq.

October 19: The Senate Select Committee begins to investigate charges that CIA or NSA front companies were used, in violation of federal law, to supply Iraq with arms and weapon technology. Democrats on the Senate Judiciary Committee call for Barr to appoint an independent prosecutor.

1993

January 21: Will President Bill Clinton's new attorney general appoint a special prosecutor?

by Glenora Croucher

THE NATION'S NEW PAP

USA DECAY

No. 1 IN AMERIKA... 6.6 MILLION SERVED A DAY

Republicans buy out Den

underway for nearly three de- cades from the Republican Party. The I.

Freedom of the press

As prominent merchants in the marketplace of ideas, the executives at Gannett know it's their duty to serve a populace hungry for information and guidance. Some might say Gannett does its job well, offering news and analysis—though in awfully small portions—to millions of Americans through its nationally distributed *USA Today*. But others, like members of the California-based Pledge of Resistance, think "the nation's newspaper" would be more aptly dubbed "the nation's new pap."

On Oct. 1, Pledge of Resistance raided *USA Today* newsracks in 26 cities across the country, wrapping a satirical one-page broadsheet *USA Decay* around copies of the regular paper. Anyone who missed his morning coffee could easily have mistaken *USA Decay* for the real thing—until reading the headlines. Or the bylines. Donald Trump reports that "Republicans buy out Democratic Party," in a story that marks "the formal ending to a process which has been underway for nearly three decades." The lead headline trumpets, "War to begin next week: target to be decided soon." A chart under the heading "USA Crapshots" shows that when it comes to television entertainment, Americans most prefer "massacres of Third World nations," followed by "censored teen sex movies," "vapid sit-coms" and baseball. A report by Neil Bush says "S & L crisis: no big thing."

All of this made the folks at Gannett a little bit angry. On Oct. 9, the law firm of Dow, Lohnes & Albertson sent a certified letter to Judy Rohrer at the Pledge of Resistance, demanding a signed confirmation that the group would never pull such a stunt again. While Gannett considered the attention "flattering," attorney David Wittenstein wrote that the news organization was prepared to sue. "While, as a news organization, Gannett appreciates the importance of robust debate (and political satire) in our society, your organization's willful destruction and distortion of property is unacceptable," Wittenstein wrote, adding that "*USA Today* is not in business to subsidize the distribution of your opinions." Wittenstein also said that if Pledge of Resistance would not promise to behave, the media giant would seek "triple damages" and also bring charges against "the printer and others involved in creating this material." So much for freedom of the press.

For copies of *USA Decay* write Pledge of Resistance at 4228 Telegraph, Suite 100, Oakland, CA, 94609. Or call (510) 655-1181.

Parking lot priorities

Chicago's crumbling infrastructure became an issue earlier this year when the Chicago River drained into a long-abandoned tunnel system beneath the downtown area and ground the city to a halt for days. As in other cities across the nation, Chicago's bridges are falling down while its roads are being torn up. But while the city needs to spend money patching up its old infrastructure, it's directing millions of dollars toward questionable new projects. According to Neighborhood Capital Budget Group (NCBG), Chicago plans to spend \$35 million this year on a joint federal project to build an underground parking lot at the Museum of Science and Industry. That amount, the group says, is almost three times what the city will spend in federal bloc grants over the next five years on its industrial park initiative to clear and develop land to retain and attract city industry. NCBG executive Director Jackie Leavy says the museum parking garage project is typical of many federal and city-funded projects that get pushed through without public input. Leavy says residents should take an interest in their city's budget plans so officials will be forced direct taxpayer money where it belongs.

IN SHORT

Independent woman throws party for loop in Connecticut

Connecticut's three-way Fifth District congressional race pits the nation's only African-American Republican in Congress against a conservative Democrat and a progressive female legislator who happens to be a plumber.

Incumbent Gary Franks is an arch-conservative who is considered one of the most vulnerable new members of Congress for, among other things, his failure to work with other legislators, his nasty public purges of several staffers and his penchant for self-promotion.

James Lawlor, the Democratic challenger, is an elected probate judge accused by a state citizens' group of conflict of interest for accepting campaign contributions from lawyers whose cases he later heard.

Lynn Taborsak is a four-term Democratic state representative who lost a close, bitter primary fight and on Sept. 21 accepted the endorsement of A Connecticut Party (ACP), the vehicle created in 1990 by former Republican U.S. Sen. Lowell Weicker Jr. in his successful bid to become the nation's only current independent governor.

Throughout the campaign, Franks has behaved in a way that seems geared to offend constituents and colleagues alike. One example occurred in September when President Bush visited the town of Ansonia in Franks' district. The congressman switched his seat with that of the town's mayor at the head table, thus enabling him to sit next to Bush, whom he sees frequently in Washington and whom he considers a personal friend.

Franks has become an embarrassment to the GOP. But, since he is the only black Republican in Congress, they continue to support his re-election. However, in an election where the president's coattails may well turn out to be anchors, being too chummy with Bush is not considered a winning strategy.

Franks, who claims he is pro-choice, co-sponsored the Freedom of Choice Act. But he was the only African-American in Congress to voice support for Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas, who, upon confirmation, voted to restrict abortion rights.

Democrat Lawlor opposes

abortion, while Taborsak defines her pro-choice stand as supporting not only abortion but a woman's right to make other choices as well. She favors abortion rights, universal health care (including birth control), day care for children and older adults, pay equity for women and family leave. (Franks twice voted to uphold Bush's veto of the Family Leave Act.)

Many observers predict Taborsak will be a spoiler, siphoning enough votes from the Democratic candidate to throw the election to Franks. But others say Franks and Lawlor have more in common with each other than with Taborsak, so they will be vying for the same votes. Aside from sharing similar political views, both men share the same geographic base, while Taborsak's turf is the other half of the district.

Another factor that could work in Taborsak's favor is that the district has more independent voters than registered Democrats or Republicans. And, while none of the candidates can claim to be political outsiders in this year of anti-incumbency, Taborsak, as an ACP candidate, will not be beholden to either of the two major parties.

Taborsak says her top priorities in Congress would be to fight for new jobs (especially in manufacturing), universal health care, educational reform and abortion rights. In the state in which military contracting provided the most employment per capita, she calls for retraining of the thousands of workers laid off when military spending was cut, as well as conversion from military to civilian production.

She says environmental concerns can be an economic engine rather than a drag on the economy. "People have to stop talking about owls vs. jobs," she says, citing as models some environmentally oriented industries in her district that build radiation-detection equipment and air-pollution monitoring devices.

Taborsak is a plain-spoken woman with a sense of humor. When a reporter expresses surprise that she has a 29-year-old daughter, as well as two teen-aged children, she responds, "Oh, I'm an old fart. [She's 49.] I grew up before contraception was legal, much less the right to choose."

A former teacher, Taborsak has been a licensed plumber for the past 15 years. She was endorsed in the primary by the

state AFL-CIO, and individual unions are strongly behind her.

"Lynn Taborsak is the kind of person that all working and unemployed people need to represent them in Congress," says Warren Gould, head of the greater New Haven AFL-CIO. He and his constituents are not even in Taborsak's district, but many of them actively support her. "She understands what it means to be unemployed, to fight for jobs, to have a family. Gary Franks has been a virtual enemy of working and unemployed people, and she is one of us." Gould says union members all over the state are working enthusiastically for Taborsak.

The 100,000-member Connecticut Citizens Action Group (CCAG) endorsed Taborsak in all her campaigns. "CCAG endorses candidates based on their stands on issues important to our membership as well as their record of activism," says the group's executive director, Lynne Ide. She says that as a state representative Taborsak often scored 100 percent on their issues, including health care reform, tax reform and the environment. "Of all the candidates in this race, she is the only one with a strong record who has pledged to work for passage of legislation we support, such as a single-payer Canadian-style health care plan."

Ide adds that the state Health Care for All Coalition, made up of more than 60 groups statewide, could never get a meeting with Franks.

Taborsak received funding in the primary from EMILY's List, a national organization promoting women candidates. She was endorsed in the primary by both the Sierra Club and the National Organization for Women (NOW), and after declaring her candidacy on the ACP ticket, NOW President Patricia Ireland held a press conference in Connecticut to endorse Taborsak again.

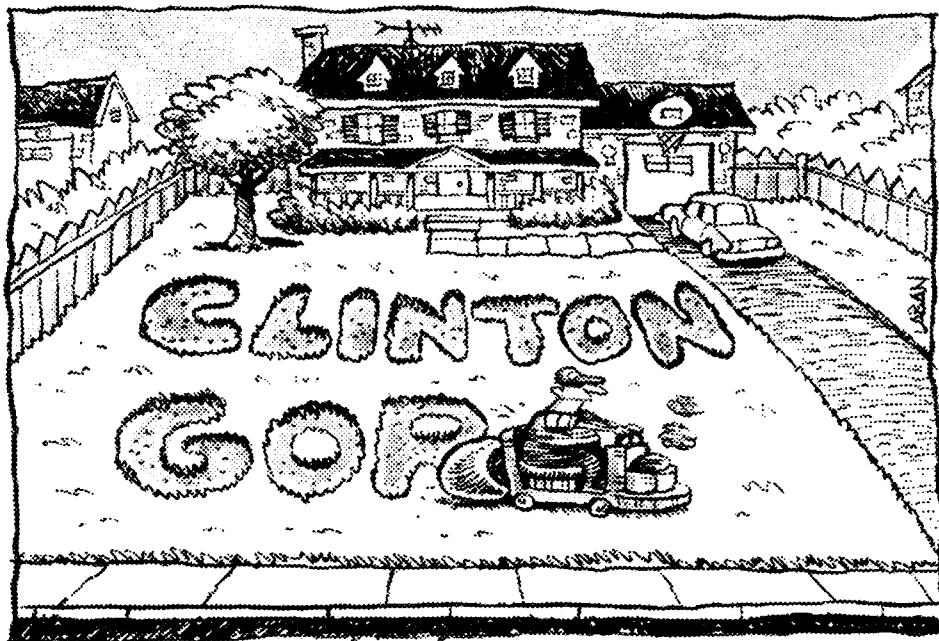
CCAG's Ide says Taborsak has a history of running grass-roots campaigns, and that if she runs her own campaign the same way, she has a good shot at winning.

"I am a risk-taker," Taborsak says of her decision to run as an independent. Lots of people in Connecticut and around the country hope her risk pays off.

—Melinda Tuhus

By David Moberg
Naperville, Illinois

Grass gets greener for Democrats in suburbia



EVEN IN THE HEART OF REPUBLICAN suburbia, voters can barely stomach George Bush. Nearly half of the nation's population now lives in suburbs, the source of Republican strength in the '80s. This year the suburbs are a crucial political battleground.

Although suburbs are diverse—very rich, very poor, industrial—when people think suburbs, they think of places like Naperville, Ill., now home to nearly 100,000 people with an average household income of \$50,000. A

ELECTION

charming old town core is dwarfed by booming bedroom communities and shopping centers that merge into other suburbs of Du Page County, one of the collar counties surrounding Chicago. The overwhelmingly white and white-collar workers are as likely to travel to nearby high-tech and service jobs in grassy office or industrial parks as to downtown Chicago skyscrapers.

RIGHT FLIGHT

Obsessed with taxes and security, distrustful of government and all things public, these suburban "operational conservatives" from California to New Jersey may finally loosen the Reagan-era Republican grip on them for two reasons, political analyst William Schneider argues in the July *Atlantic*. First, conservative economic policies no longer work and, second, the GOP's right-wing social agenda offends as many of them as it attracts.

In 1988, President Bush defeated Democrat Michael Dukakis by a lopsided margin of 70 to 30 percent in Du Page. But among "collar county suburban voters" Bush led Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton by only 7 percentage points. The October survey showed Democratic vice-presidential candidate Al Gore with even more support than the head of his ticket among suburban voters, and Democratic Senate candidate Carol Moseley Braun led her Republican opponent by 5 points.

The strong but scandal-plagued Republican organization in Du Page has been riven by internal fights over taxes and abortion, and by tensions between moderate Republicans and factions of ultraconservatives and evangelical Christians. The Democrats, still woefully weak and underfunded in the suburbs, have been fielding one and a half times as many precinct committee workers as ever before in many areas and hope to pick up a few local victories.

There is little enthusiasm for Clinton specifically, but his efforts to portray himself as a new, moderate Democrat have probably made it easier for some voters to act on their disappointment with Bush. Yet, ironically, if Clinton's victory is to form the basis of a new period of Democratic dominance, it will depend on his forcefully pushing the liberal parts of his agenda: a strategic industrial policy, universal health care, defense cutbacks and conversion, and increased federal support for education.

Over the past two decades Du Page has enjoyed a job boom, based in large part on expanding high-tech manufacturing. Yet the economic doldrums of the past two years—with their unusually high toll on white collar workers—have even cast a pall over this bliss-

ful realm. As local employers, including giants such as AT&T and Amoco, as well as many small businesses, cut payrolls, unemployment rose to a high of 6.4 percent last winter.

TAKING CHANCES

One year ago at St. Thomas Apostle parish, the Rev. Jim Curtin established an unprecedented jobless counseling service. He was "very surprised" when 85 people showed at the first meeting, tearfully telling tales of corporate downsizing. "People are alarmed and really want a change," he says, "but I don't think they know what's the best change."

Many are ready to take a chance with Clinton. Two years ago Chuck Jonas, 57, lost his industrial sales job and is now selling cars. A former Reagan supporter, Jonas now supports Clinton. "I think the direction the country has taken, especially in the economic area, has not been for the better of the middle class," he says. "Ronald Reagan had some good ideas and turned the country around from a bad direction. Now we need to turn away from another bad direction." He says he worries that Clinton might be "too close to labor, but after I watched the Republican convention and saw the radicals who took control of that convention, I decided we have to take the country back to the middle of the road."

Outside a Jewel grocery store in Naperville, other voters expressed their anxieties. Worried about health care, disappointed with Bush's domestic record, looking for someone to reform welfare, Ann Patterson is a retired department store buyer who voted for Reagan and Bush, and now is reluctantly leaning to Clinton. "I don't feel Bush has done much domestically, and I think he's taking credit for world peace, like with Russia, that would have happened anyway," she says. "If Bush could have cleaned up [the country's domestic problems], why didn't he? With Perot, I'd be afraid we might get a little Hitler in there."

Another Reagan voter, flight attendant Suzette Fallon, is dissatisfied with Bush's economic record—a year and a half ago her sales manager husband lost his job and they have since lost their house—and the Republican right. "I'm an anti-abortion person," she says,

"but I think the Republican convention was distasteful this year. They failed to show morality issues can be handled in a positive way." Convinced Clinton is a moderate and not a big spender, she's ready to vote for him.

Many Republicans share the view that prevailed in the home of 32-year-old financial services salesman Todd Diehl, where "Democrat" was a bad word. He voted loyally for Reagan and Bush. But his own political awakening, reinforced by the Republican convention, convinced him that "George Bush is a member of the paranoid far right. I think Republicans would like everyone looking, acting, smelling just like they do, making no waves. But we need to make waves. In my generation, many of us know we can't get ahead much further because of the debt. Also, the right has abused the environment for many years. I'm a Christian, and was 'born again' as a teen-ager, but the way the Christian right depicts itself is self-serving to the point of sac-

To win the suburbs, the Democrats may have to talk conservatively.

rilege." Last spring Diehl was a Perot supporter and "would have sworn I'd never vote Democratic." But Perot dropped out, Clinton picked Gore, and Diehl swung solidly behind Clinton.

Concerns about job flight and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with Mexico have put retired auto manufacturing executive Lawrence Lyons, a former Perot backer, and 32-year-old truck driver Tim Ruppener, a former Bush supporter, into the Clinton camp. "I go to a lot of places," Ruppener says. "I see them laying off people all the time. They say cheaper labor, cheaper labor, but the prices of TVs keep going up. America used to be a great nation. Now the Japs send all their products here and we're

just assemblers." Though Lyons was disappointed in Clinton's endorsement of NAFTA, he thought Clinton would be more attuned to unfair trade and capital flight.

Perot touched a chord with many dissatisfied voters in this area. His debate performances have sparked a resurgence of interest, but doubts about him, especially because of his dropping out and re-entering, usually prevailed.

As economic tremors shake the sturdy Republican oaks of suburbia, local Democrats hope a few acorns will fall their way, especially where right-wing Republicans won local party primaries. Julia Kennedy Beckman, a businesswoman running for state senate east of Naperville, introduces herself to voters as "pro-choice, pro-family and pro-business." Although Beckman is an underfinanced underdog, her polling suggests that if she can let voters know that her opponent is a hard-line anti-abortion legislator, she could win.

Democrat Pat Cullerton is running for state representative in a district that includes part of Naperville against a candidate, Peter Roskam, who was the choice of a right-wing evangelical Christian movement. Roskam backed an unsuccessful fundamentalist attempt to ban books in the public schools and to take over the school board in nearby Wheaton. In a four-way primary, where the other Republicans were pro-choice, ardent pro-lifer Roskam won. His two major opponents have since refused to endorse him, and Cullerton is counting on many Republicans and moderate independents to switch to his side.

TALKING CONSERVATIVELY

To win the suburbs, the Democrats may have to talk conservatively. In office they will be caught in a longstanding dilemma: Americans, including many even in individualistic, privacy-minded, anti-government suburbs like Naperville, still expect government leaders to do more to improve their lives. But they don't want to pay more taxes.

Democrats can partly resolve that dilemma by redirecting existing spending—toward health care reform and defense cutbacks and conversions in particular—and by restructuring taxes to make them more progressive. They can also win support from suburbanites for broad-based programs that help the middle class, like aid to education, child care and health care. Yet such inclusive programs can be designed so that the poor, working or not, will disproportionately benefit.

Yet in retaining these new middle-class, white suburban voters, Democrats cannot forget that the most important constituency—in terms of good policy and good politics—is not found in towns like Naperville. Rather it resides in the ethnically varied denizens of blue-collar neighborhoods and frayed white- or pink-collar communities—that is, among lower-level service and clerical workers, whether in the cities or suburbs.

The national interest, as well as social fairness, cannot be dictated by the political whims of counties like Du Page. But without their reluctant consent, the Democrats will have difficulty winning the presidency. This year, thanks largely to the grim economic consequences of George Bush's inaction and the cumulative toll of Reagan-Bush policies, it looks like Democrats will have that reluctant consent from the suburbs. ■

By Jordan Moss

A taxing question: How to pay for schools?

IS IT FAIR THAT THE QUALITY OF A child's education depends on the worth of his or her home? This election year, New Hampshire is taking this question directly to voters.

New Hampshire ranks a distant last among states in its support of public education, contributing less than 8 percent of the bill for local schools. (Even the 49th state, Nebraska, provides 24 percent of its schools' budgets.) With no broad-based tax, New Hampshire schools are almost totally dependent upon local property taxes for revenue. The result is a public school system fraught with enormous disparities in educational opportunity and taxpayer burden. Citizens for Tax Justice lists New Hampshire among the Terrible Ten, the 10 states whose overall tax structures tax the poor at three times the rate of the rich and the middle class at twice the rate of the rich.

Struggling to maintain adequate schools, property-poor districts tax their residents at several times the rate employed in wealthier districts. In 1989, for example, Allentown, N.H., had a property tax rate of \$17.24 (per \$1,000 of property wealth). Yet it raised only \$3,473 for each public school student, while nearby Rye raised \$6,037 with a \$4.68 tax rate—half the state property tax average and less than one-quarter that of Allentown.

The lack of state support forces property-poor districts to make hard choices. Claremont High School was made to choose between maintaining its educational programs and repairing the dilapidated 19th-century structure that houses them—it couldn't afford to do both. As a result, the school lost

its accreditation with the New England Association of Schools and Colleges. Claremont and several other New Hampshire school districts are suing the state over gross funding inequities.

SCHOOL AND TAXES

This year's gubernatorial election amounts to a referendum on the inextricably linked issues of education and taxes, offering New Hampshire residents a rare opportunity to speed the demise of an unjust funding system. This year the unspeakable—a state income tax—is being championed. The messenger is as unique to Republican New Hampshire as the message. State Rep. Deborah "Arnie" Arnesen, the only woman ever to win

EDUCATION

a statewide major-party primary in New Hampshire, is the Democratic nominee for the governor's seat being vacated by Republican Judd Gregg, who is running for U.S. Senate. Arnesen won big with 49 percent of the vote in a field of three that included a former five-term congressman and a former state party chair. And she did it without surrendering to "the pledge"—the sacred vow ritually invoked by New Hampshire politicians, to never even suggest the enactment of a broad-based tax such as an income or sales tax. Arnesen's opponent, Attorney General Stephen Merrill, promises to maintain the

state's property-tax-only legacy.

Arnesen, the 38-year-old daughter of public school teachers, proposes to send 75 percent of all revenue from a 6 percent income tax back to towns and cities for property tax relief and to create an educational funding system that insures that "access to educational opportunities [is] equal at all levels." She believes that the income tax should be based upon one's ability to pay; under Arnesen's plan, families of four would not be taxed on their first \$30,000 of income "because that money is needed to pay the mortgage, buy food and cover health costs," she says. This message of tax fairness resonates with many residents struggling to survive in a dismal state economy made even worse by a growing property tax burden that has, this year alone, caused 45,000 liens on houses because their owners were not able to pay property taxes.

BARE MINIMUM

Adding to the urgency of Arnesen's candidacy is a tremendously unpopular decision by the New Hampshire State Board of Education to eliminate many minimum standards regulating everything from staffing to library books. Abdicating what little responsibility it had for the maintenance of adequate public schools, the state board's 7-0 vote threatens to engender even greater disparity in the quality of education that rich and poor districts give their children. Staffing requirements for art, music and physical education, for guidance counselors and assistant principals, among others, will be eliminated. Library collection requirements will also be eliminated. Consis-

days before the final vote this September. Much of the public's indignation is directed at Judith Thayer, chairwoman of the board, who, like Gov. Gregg and other board members, sends her own children to private schools. Thayer, a Gregg appointee, has been widely accused of using her position to carry out the governor's political agenda—providing property tax relief to towns without instituting an income tax.

MONEY DOESN'T TALK?

Before a hearing in Olymough, Thayer briefly touched on the role public schools should play in a democratic society. Her ideas echo the larger national battle over preservation or privatization of public education. "We in this state and in this country support education of the public. We also have many different venues for education of the public. Public education is one. We have private and parochial and we have home schooling. And the Board of Education in New Hampshire oversees and approves all those venues for education of the public."

For Thayer, money is not an important factor in providing quality education. "Funding is not the issue," she insisted, adding, strangely, that "quality education is consistent with student performance."

Unlike Thayer, Arnesen believes that schools in New Hampshire can't be improved without changing the funding system. "She [Thayer] is saying there is no relationship between revenues and education," Arnesen says. "Poorer districts don't have the money to make education choices they know they must make. What she wants to do is talk about quality in isolation. You can't separate the quality issue from revenue-reform issues."

Arnesen has been selling her plan by looking voters in the eye and telling them that it is going to cost some of them more. But at the same time she appeals to their sense of community. At campaign stops, she talks of the tiny town of Nelson, N.H., that was confronted with the need to provide special education for two children at a cost of \$250,000 a year, an enormous chunk of their community's property tax revenue. "Are those kids Nelson's kids, or are they all of our kids?" Arnesen asks. She also emphasizes the link between a fair tax structure, a quality public school system and a healthy economy.

Ironically, Arnesen's message seems to be taking off faster among better-off voters. Residents of many poor communities that stand to benefit the most under the Arnesen plan are frightened by the suggestion of more taxes, even as they suffer under the old regressive system. If Arnesen is to win, it is among this constituency that she will need to gain ground.

While the battle for New Hampshire's public schools may be decided in Arnesen's favor on election day, other states do not have such immediate recourse. Even in states such as California and New Jersey, where the courts have ruled inequitable education-funding systems unconstitutional, lack of political leadership and popular support have rendered these decisions largely ineffective. If the country is ever to have a public school system where all children have equal access to educational opportunity, many more politicians will need to emulate Arnesen's passion for a fair funding system. "I look forward to the day," she says, "when we can send our children to school to learn about geography rather than having geography dictate how they learn." ■ **Jordan Moss** is a journalist living in New York. He is working on a documentary on the inequities of public school funding.

LET CUBA BE!

Please join us at an **URGENT RALLY** in support of the Cuban people to demand:

- An end to the blockade and economic embargo by the U.S. government against Cuba;
- No further military intervention by the U.S. against Cuba, and an end the U.S. occupation of Guantanamo Bay;
- Lifting the restrictions imposed by the U.S. government that prohibit the freedom of travel to and from Cuba;
- Normalization of all relations between Cuba and the U.S.

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Program starts at 4:00 p.m.

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Emma Lozano, President, Centro Sin Fronteras
William Taylor, President, Local 507, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union
Andres Gomez, Antonio Maceo Brigade
Pablo Medina, Chicago chair, Puerto Rican Socialist Party
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by Paul Hockenos

PIGGY IS DEAD. AS THEIR TROPICAL island bursts into flames, his murderers, the hunters, converge on Ralph in a blood-thirsty frenzy. The short-lived civil order of the stranded boys has capitulated fully to dictatorship and tribalism, the rule of the mob victorious over that of law. Running frantically, Ralph breaks through to the beach and trips, his painted, spear-wielding classmates on his heels. He peers up from the sand to see the unfamiliar figure of a uniformed adult, an admiral—the personification of rescue, civilization and the restoration of order.

The story in William Golding's novel, *Lord of the Flies*, is very much the story of Yugoslavia. In fact, as a metaphor for Yugoslavia's slide from communist rule into the hell of nationalist tyranny, it is as telling as an armful of books on Balkan history. But where *Lord of the Flies* ends, the concentric circles of violence in the former Yugoslavia only widen.

The mere presence of United Nations forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina hasn't fazed the Bosnian Serb aggressors or their masters in Belgrade one bit. And neither rival armies nor weak domestic oppositions possess the resources to stop the Serbs' mad drive for territorial conquest.

A full-scale, international military intervention in former Yugoslavia, I am convinced, is the only alternative that remains to halt the barbarism enveloping the entire Balkans. A quick, decisive invasion of Bosnia-Herzegovina—on the scale of Operation Desert Storm—is an option that the left should rally around as forcefully as any issue since opposition to the Vietnam War.

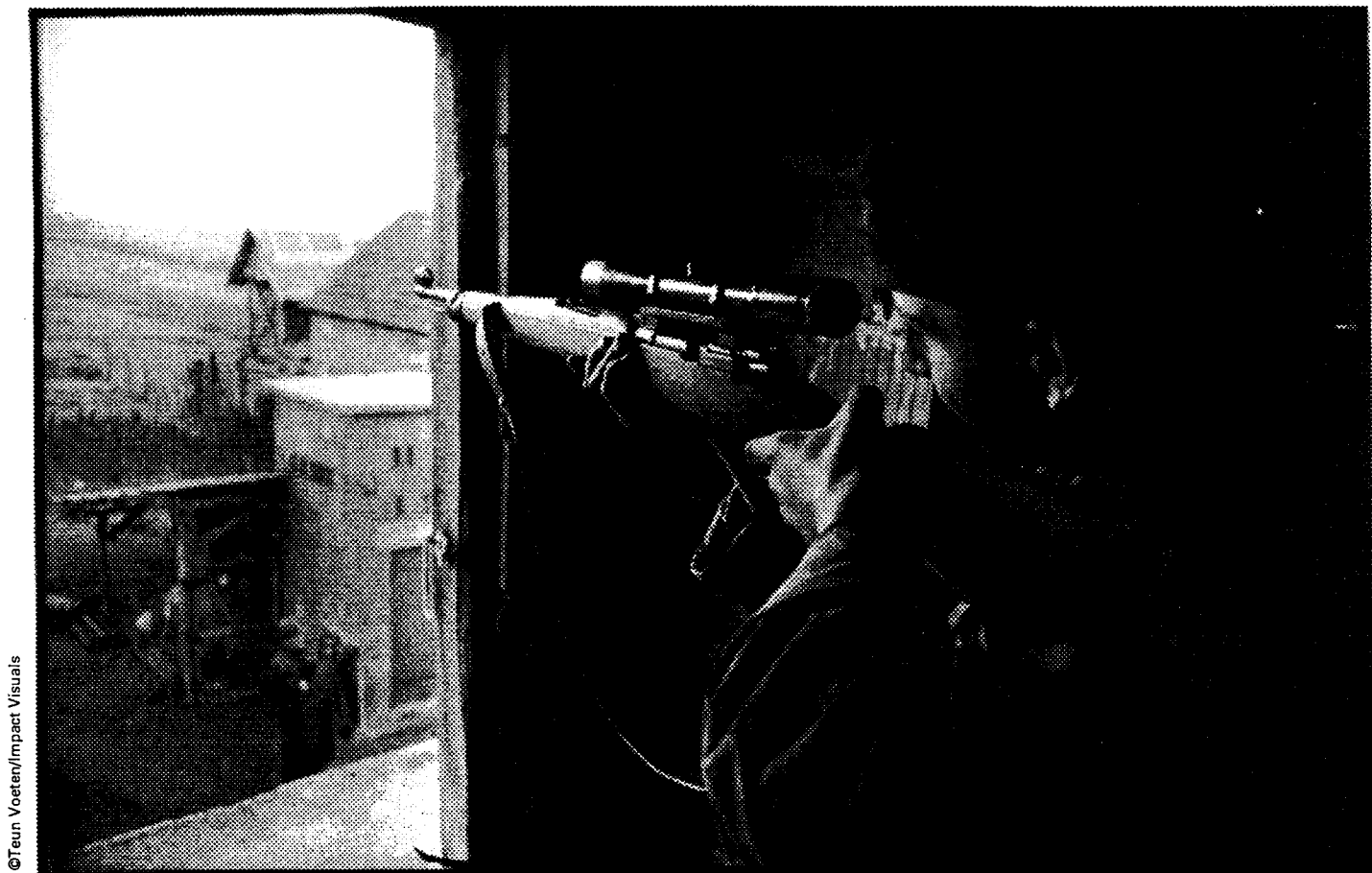
The 6-month-old war has already claimed more than 50,000 lives and turned 2.5 million Bosnians into refugees. Each new report about the savagery loose in the former republic seems more inconceivable than the last. No longer can foreign observers feign ignorance about the war's carnage and the bestial crimes of its combatants, about the concentration camps and the massacres, about the mass rapes and the torture. If the Serbian siege of Bosnian cities and the "ethnic cleansing" of non-Serb communities continues into the winter—which it will—the body count is expected to soar into the hundreds of thousands.

That suffering, however, is only a hint of what's to come should international inaction give in to the designs of Serbia's nationalist henchmen. In a larger context, Bosnia-Herzegovina represents a test case for nationalist expansionism in Europe, on the one hand, and for post-Cold War Europe's commitment to a new democratic order, on the other.

OUT OF CONTROL

So far, the territorial war of the Serbian militants in Bosnia has made a mockery of every principle that underpins the notion of a democratic European House. The Serbs in rump Yugoslavia have simply snubbed their noses at international protests, warnings and sanctions. They have deceitfully broken every promise U.N. negotiators have extracted from them.

Yet their intransigence is paying off. The Serbs, who make up only 35 percent of the mixed Bosnian population, now control 70 percent of its territory. The Croats, 17 percent



©Teun Voeten/Impact Visuals

The 6-month-old war has already claimed 50,000 lives and turned 2.5 million Bosnians into refugees.

The case for intervention in the Balkans

of the population, call the shots in nearly a quarter of the former republic. Serb and Croat leaders agreed a year ago that when the killing is over, the 43 percent Muslim population will have but a few tiny land-locked enclaves to themselves. If Serbia and Croatia simply walk away scot-free from a partitioned Bosnia-Herzegovina, Europe might as well toss into

EUROPE

the dustbin the 1990-signed Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe Treaty, the foundation of a united, democratic Europe. Such a capitulation would send a clear message to extremist regimes across

In opposing intervention, the Western left remains mired in the black-and-white logic of the Cold War.

Europe that might makes right, and that Europe will stand by without lifting a finger.

After Bosnia, the Serbs appear intent on taking their Greater Serbian blueprint into Kosovo and Macedonia. In Kosovo, Serbia's southern province, the Serb military is tightening the already snug screws on the ethnic Albanian majority there. Serb President Slobodan Milosevic, who made his name as a communist by stripping Kosovo of its provincial autonomy, is obviously spoiling for a fight that would enable him to homogenize Kosovo as well.

The specter of a Kosovo "cleansed" of its almost 2 million ethnic Albanians is nightmarish enough. But any such dramatic escala-

tion of tensions will also certainly bring Albania proper into the picture. It, one way or another, will come to the defense of its Kosovo brothers.

Serb nationalists also have their sights set on Macedonia, formerly Yugoslavia's southern-most republic and now an independent state. The fact that Milosevic and his radical supporters consider Macedonia to be "south Serbia" sits well with neither its Macedonian nor ethnic Albanian inhabitants, much less neighboring Greece, Albania and Bulgaria, all of whom have claims on the diminutive Balkan plot. A Serbian offensive in either Kosovo or Macedonia would almost certainly ignite a full-scale Balkan war, dragging in Turkey and parts of the Islamic world as well.

RALLYING THE LEFT

The debate over military intervention has bitterly split the European left. Critics rightly argue that alternatives such as harder, strictly enforced sanctions have not yet been exhausted. The German Greens insist that the domestic opposition, such as the various democratic parties or the peace movements, desperately need Western support. They call for yet another conference to bring the warring parties together for negotiations. Unfortunately, these options haven't the remotest hope of stopping the slaughter underway now.

Left opponents of intervention also point to the hypocritical legacy of Western military intervention over the past decades, from Vietnam to the Persian Gulf. But in the case of former Yugoslavia, the standard grounds for intervention, such as empire and markets, simply don't apply. In short, that's exactly why there hasn't been more forceful intervention to date.

Europe's interests in the Balkans are European stability and stemming the flow of refugees. The demise of the Cold War, while leaving the U.S. the unchallenged superpower, also opened the way for independent U.N.

and joint European foreign policy initiatives. The West European superpowers—France, Germany, Great Britain and Italy—should have taken the lead long ago in former Yugoslavia. But in light of their bickering and the U.N.'s ineffectiveness, I have no qualms about the U.S. or NATO stepping in, if that's what it takes.

But the Western left itself remains mired in the logic of the Cold War. It reflexively rejects intervention when the likes of the *New York Times*, Bill Clinton and Margaret Thatcher support it. The left has grown so accustomed to saying "no" that it appears incapable of demanding positive action—be it in Bosnia, Somalia, northern or southern Iraq—when it would save lives and open space for democratic alternatives.

In the case of former Yugoslavia, the precedent for intervention is neither Vietnam nor the Gulf War, but World War II, when the allies (also belatedly) joined forces to defeat Nazi Germany. In Serbia, Europe once again confronts an expansionist, national socialist regime complete with genocidal policies and concentration camps. The Croats, make no mistake, have it in them to be just as ruthless. Europe's present policy of appeasement could well cost it the vision of a peaceful, democratic Europe that flickered so briefly with the end of the Cold War.

Military intervention, however, must have specific goals and a solid commitment to laying the foundations for a viable, democratic post-Balkan Storm order. In *Lord of the Flies*, the Navy's arrival marked the restoration of the very military order that had sown the seeds of the boys' savagery. In the same vein, allied intervention in World War II led to a new dictatorship in Yugoslavia that suppressed and conserved the region's national antagonisms.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

The first goal of intervention must be to

Continued on page 22

By Denis MacShane

IT IS A PLEASING CONCEIT AMONG A generation of elderly Americans and Englishmen that their presence and activities in Germany after 1945 shaped the creation of the first democratic state to take root in German soil. The recent death of Willy Brandt, one of Europe's most influential postwar statesmen, is a gentle reminder that perhaps Germans also had something to do with the process.

GERMANY

The obituaries that followed his death—including the delightful *Financial Times* claim that he was president of the International Socialists, rather than the Socialist International—emphasized his qualities as a statesman, peacemaker, friend of John F. Kennedy and so forth. In fact, Brandt was one of the most controversial, problematic figures in postwar international politics because he remained a socialist and never stopped being a journalist, scribbling article after article, writing book after book in a country where books are taken seriously.

MAKING THE CONNECTIONS

Brandt's political life can be boiled down to the rather corny title of one of his books, *Links und Frei (Left and Free)*—a constant search, elusive never reachable, of combining the socialism and democracy in his party's name. In comparison to the *Herr Doktors* who



The death of Willy Brandt (left) marks an end of an era in 20th-century socialism.

Willy Brandt: "Left and free"

figure so large in German politics, especially the Social Democrats, Brandt came from the working class. His change of name on leaving Germany in 1933 and lack of university education could not hide a capable, well-rooted mind.

"If you want to discuss fascism, you cannot be silent about capitalism," Brandt told me in

an interview shortly before he stepped down as Social Democratic Party (SPD) chairman in 1987. His years of exile between 1933 and 1945, during which time he learned English, Spanish, French and Swedish and gained a knowledge of other countries rare among political leaders, never erased his awareness of the connection between money-worship and hard-right politics.

But that period also clarified certain ideas about power and compulsion. In the '40s, when British leftists like E.P. Thompson, Raymond Williams, John Saville and others were still embracing communism, their equivalents in West Germany—such as Brandt or Germany's most influential radical Marxist historian-sociologist, Wolfgang Abendroth—were settling their accounts with Stalinism well before Soviet tanks rolled into Budapest.

The years of exile abroad were followed by a 20-year SPD wait for power inside West Germany. During this period, Brandt was a meat-grinder, opportunistic politician accused of betraying his socialism because of his Cold War posturing with JFK in Berlin or his support of the Bad Godesburg program adopted by the SPD in 1959, when the party recast its electoral strategy and declared itself in favor of a social market economy. Yet when Brandt became chancellor in 1969, he sustained a radical momentum. First came his *Ostpolitik* (eastern policy), which stopped dead the Cold War until Reagan, Brezhnev and Thatcher relaunched it. Then, he made risky domestic political maneuvers that helped the SPD stay in power from 1969 to '82.

CARRYING THE SOCIALIST MANTLE

It seemed all over when he resigned from West Germany's top post in 1974, after one of his aides was revealed as an East German agent. But Brandt rose again as chair of the Socialist International, breathing life into that body and making it a radical and innovative world organization instead of a defunct European-only body. Socialist International activity in Latin America in the '70s and '80s presented the first serious internationally backed challenge to U.S. hegemony in its "backyard."

His international stature was confirmed by the work of the Brandt Commission, which

encouraged the world to think in terms of North and South instead of East and West. As SPD leader, he displayed an openness to new movements and ideas in the '70s and '80s that few leaders of his age and stature exhibited. In particular, he kept alive, and further developed, the concept of internationalism, without which the left would atrophy in its national bunker.

In Germany today, it is fashionable for conservatives and scared SPDers to argue that Germany should "normalize" itself. By this they mean Germany should have an army ready for foreign combat, should change its constitution to remove the offer of political asylum and should broaden police powers—theoretically to combat drug traders and terrorists but, in the end, they will be used to limit personal and political freedom. The German "normalizers" in U.S. international policy institutes have not thought through what the reversion to classic nation-statehood for Germany will mean either for European or global politics.

Brandt's life was devoted to making a different state, one that would forego the pleasures of Gulf wars, world ego displays or a nuclear-arms industry. Instead, his ideal state would make its international and European presence felt by producing goods of use to the world and developing a diplomatic and international stance geared to promoting democracy.

Through all this, Brandt's German patriotism was never in question. His love for his *Vaterland* was based on internationalism and a democratic socialist credo that spurned the 19th-century trappings and impulses of statehood, which had caused so much damage to his people and to Europe.

His death marks an end of an era in 20th-century socialism. The lingering question is whether his vision of Germany will be buried with him.

Denis MacShane is associate director of the London-based European Policy Institute. Oxford University Press has recently published his book, *International Labor and the Origins of the Cold War*.

INSIDE

THE L.A.

RIOTS



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Published by the Institute for Alternative Journalism (IAJ), a non-profit organization dedicated to strengthening the alternative press and advocating for diverse and independent media voices necessary for a healthy democracy.

Cohen was planning to add staff in the Boston office. The Friendly Hills story had long been a mainstay of NTC fund-raising efforts. The organization had even once flown Anderson to a gathering of wealthy donors in San Francisco to tell the story of the Friendly Hills families' fight for environmental justice.

Anderson had already warned the NTC's executives that she feared Vernon would try to use the prospect of a large grant to isolate her from the organization. She suspected Cohen was cooperating with Vernon when members of the NTC Fund board told her the board had not laid her off—Cohen had apparently acted on his own initiative. O'Connor quickly scribbled a note assuring Anderson she was still the organization's western regional director.

Cohen then began ordering Anderson and other staff to muffle their complaints about the organization. "Gag orders started coming down," Hufford recalls. "One of the hallmarks of the NTC is that our strength lies in the truth. Suddenly there started being edicts handed down from on high that no employees were to speak to each other or to anyone outside the organization."

In addition, Cohen's memos revealed a managerial habit of treating disagreement as insubordination. "Your behavior in this regard is unprofessional and inappropriate for an NTC staff member," Cohen wrote to Anderson after she raised questions about his motivations in laying off Hufford and herself, while soliciting a grant administered in part by Thomas Vernon.

Early in 1992, the NTC decided to cut its losses by folding the National Toxics Campaign Inc. The NTC Fund board absorbed NTC Inc.'s board of directors. But the new, expanded board chose not to pay off NTC Inc.'s outstanding debts. Local creditors of the defunct NTC Inc. called Anderson's Denver office. Cohen instructed her to tell them that the organization no longer existed and had no assets.

Anderson and others within NTC were shocked. They recognized that tactic as the dodge often used by multinational corporations to evade responsibility for the effects of toxic waste. "That's the kind of dirty trick we expect industry to pull, not the NTC," says Irene Gillis, a former NTC board member and treasurer.

Last December, Anderson wrote a lengthy grievance to the NTC board of directors requesting an investigation of Cohen's financial maneuvers as well as an explanation for why he sought to lay her off without board approval while negotiating for funding with her long-time foe Thomas Vernon.

Conversations with board members across the country convinced Anderson that her complaints were not being discussed at board meetings. She decided to speak to the board at the NTC's annual retreat last April at the Highlander Center in Kingsport, Tenn. Cohen and O'Connor wrote Anderson a memo ordering her not to attend the NTC retreat. Anderson went anyway and spoke to a few board members at a social gathering.

At the Tennessee gathering, Anderson says, O'Connor told her the Pew grant proposal was "a dead deal" and that NTC had no hope of receiving the money. Anderson did not believe him. In early December 1991, while memos were flying through the organization about whether Anderson was to be laid off and the Denver office closed, she had obtained a copy of Cohen's handwritten

notes on various pending grant proposals. Opposite Pew, Cohen had written that he was engaged in "independent, off-the-record conversations about time line." To Anderson this was confirmation of her worst fears. "Why would Gary Cohen need to have off-the-record conversations about that money?" she asks.

On April 3, Anderson submitted her resignation to the NTC. Soon after the Pew Charitable Trust awarded the NTC grant. On May 15, Cohen held a champagne party at NTC's Boston offices to celebrate the arrival of the first Pew check. He also announced a round of pay increases, boosting his own salary from \$35,000 to \$40,000. The first Pew check showed up at the NTC offices about a month after Anderson resigned.

Former NTC board member Gillis, who was told she could not work on the committee that restructured the NTC because she was too old, has also left the organization. "The grass roots have totally lost power in [the NTC]," she says. "They were trying to use us rather than help us." She attributes this change to Cohen's takeover and his managerial style. "[Cohen] got very angry at some women that he couldn't control. The women in this organization are valuable because they had the guts." Gillis, former Anderson co-worker Hufford, and several current NTC employees and

board members all cited a rumor that Cohen had wanted to convert the NTC from a grass-roots network into a think tank and environmental research organization supported by grant money.

A GOOD FIGHTER

Such a large-scale change may have made a personality conflict between Cohen and Anderson inevitable. Anderson is quick to see conspiracies—not surprising after eight years of battling Denver's interconnected network of polluting corporations and complacent regulatory agencies. But there is more to this story than a simple personality conflict. The NTC badly needed the grant that Vernon could veto. And there appeared to be few better ways to curry Vernon's favor than by disowning Adrienne Anderson.

"She did that organization no credit in my eyes," Vernon says. "She would stand in front of the cameras with the mothers with their babies in their arms beside her and she could very believable. But unfortunately it didn't wear. There were holes in her facts and there was clear grand-standing."

In an effort to defend herself from Vernon's suggestion that she was the hysteric leader of a band of misguided housewives, Anderson prepared a memo detailing her history of conflict with Vernon and attached it to a collection of clippings from Denver-area newspa-

pers. The clippings documented the numerous occasions the NTC had uncovered evidence of pollution cover-ups by Vernon's office. Anderson intended to submit the memo and clippings to Josh Richert and to ask that Vernon remove himself from consideration of the grant request. But Cohen insisted the memo be sent to him so he could show it to Richert at the right moment. Richert said he never saw Anderson's memo though Cohen assured Anderson he handed it over.

The vanished memo and off-the-record conversations surrounding the NTC's grant request all suggest that Cohen was, if not conspiring with Vernon to eliminate the NTC's Denver office, at least willing to paint Adrienne Anderson as a loose cannon in return for \$200,000.

But Anderson was not a renegade bent on ideological purity. She was the standard-bearer for a group of the NTC's most committed grass-roots organizers who felt they were being shunted aside.

On April 30, 1992, Grace Klinger, a key NTC grass-roots leader, submitted her resignation from the NTC Fund board. It read in part: "It has become obvious that board mandates have been misapplied, misconstrued and manipulated. Management has misinformed and misled the board on numerous occasions. ... In attempting to honestly correct problems not only have I been gagged, but met with vindictiveness, threats, underhandedness and chastising."

Recently the current members of the NTC Fund board were asked to sign an agreement asking them to "represent NTCF positively to other organizations and to the general public." The agreement concludes with what amounts to an Orwellian pledge of allegiance to current management policies. "I know that if I fail to act in good faith I must resign, or someone from the board may ask me to resign."

"When Adrienne was having all her trouble, we weren't getting all the facts," Gillis says. "The board as a whole doesn't know what's going on in the organization." Policies of keeping secrets and separating dissenters from the mainstream of the organization seem to have characterized Cohen's leadership.

Both Cohen and O'Connor have hinted that they see themselves some day leading a national struggle to revive grass-roots democracy in the U.S. Sadly, it appears they were willing to sacrifice democratic principles within their own organization in order to achieve that goal.

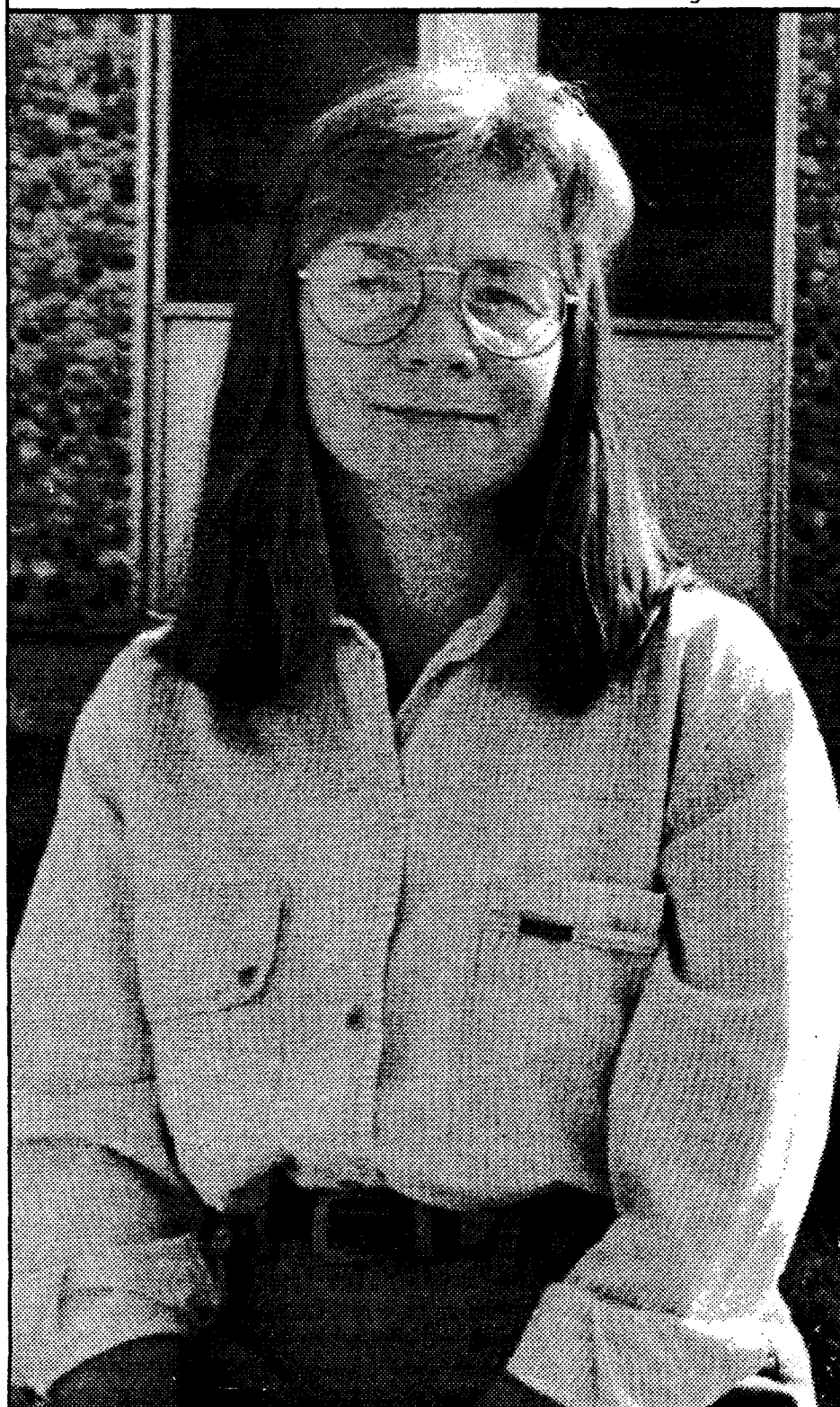
The current leadership of the NTC seems determined to forget about Adrienne Anderson, Friendly Hills, the Irondale mobile home park and the rest of Denver's pollution scandals. The NTC's annual report for 1991 contains detailed accounts of the organization's grass-roots efforts, but not a word about Colorado.

Meanwhile, Anderson is still busy helping expose the toxic scandals that encircle Denver.

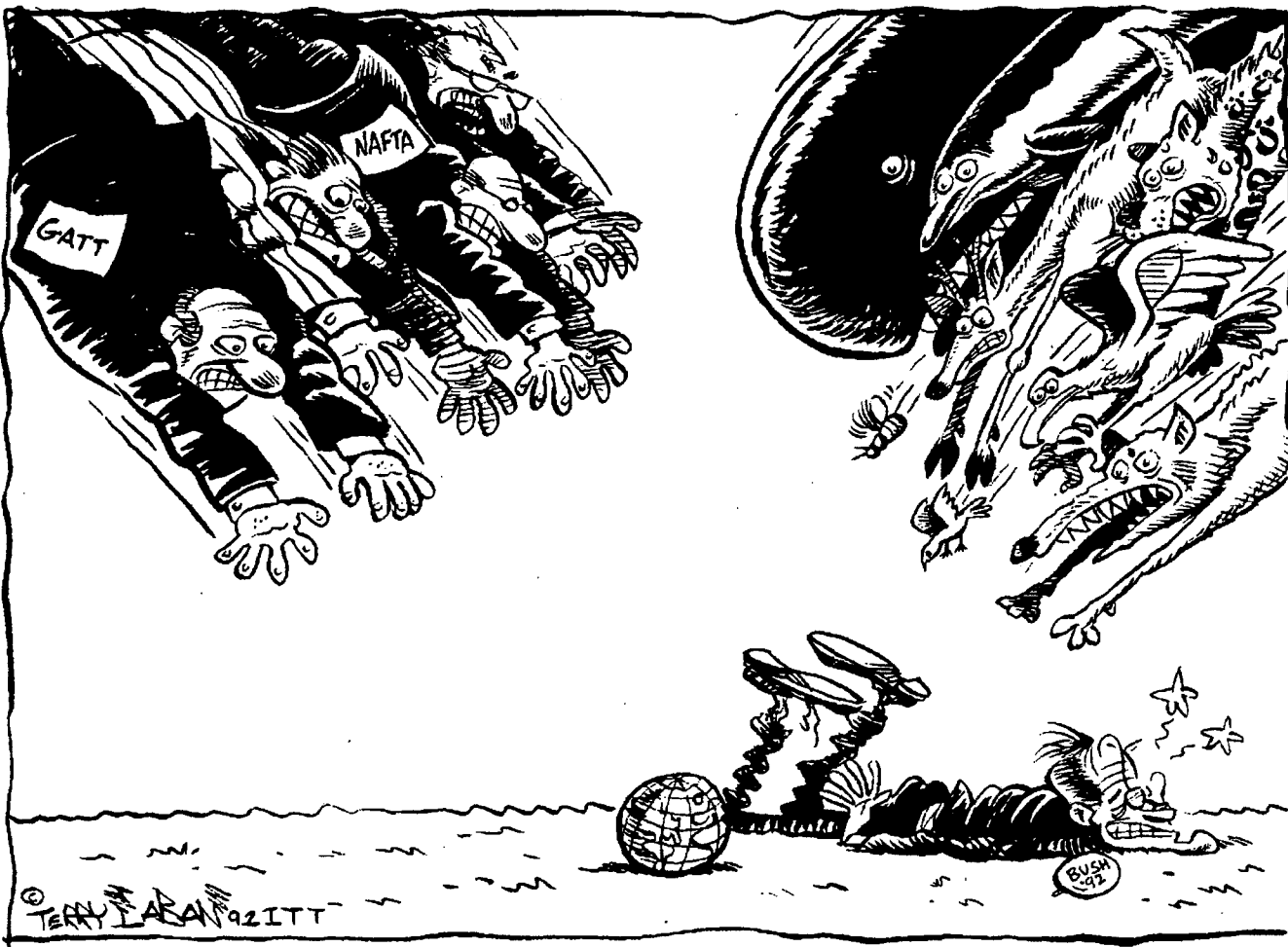
"I told Adrienne, 'I'm glad you're out of there (the NTC). Now we can go to work,'" says Joan Jacobsen, one of the original leaders of the Friendly Hills Health Action Group. "Martin Marietta may think they have won, but the truth is going to come out and it's going to be a shame the NTC can't share the credit."

W. K. Burke writes regularly for *In These Times* on environmental issues.

Adrienne Anderson led some of the NTC's most successful fights to date.



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Running vs. governing: Clinton now, and then?

Every four years, the major parties evolve from governing parties into electoral ones. During the election campaign, they display their colors like butterflies, hoping to dazzle voters with their programs and goals. But after the election the winner changes to leader of the governing party and reveals his true self. In 1988, for example, we had George Bush flaunting his "education president" and "environmental president" wings—then, once in office, he gave us four more years of Reaganism.

Will something analogous happen when Bill Clinton starts governing in January? Many people think so, but we are not so sure. The question about the Arkansas governor is not so much whether he will say things he doesn't believe just to get elected. Rather, it is to whom among the diverse lot of his advisers and financial supporters he is beholden. With Bush there was never a chance that education or the environment would be addressed seriously once he was in office. With Clinton most policies are up for grabs.

This means, as Jesse Jackson said last week, "Our concern right now is Clinton versus Bush. But another struggle begins Nov. 4. It is a struggle for the soul of the country."

WHICH SIDE IS HE ON?

The nature of that struggle can be glimpsed in Clinton's position on international trade regulation, which is among the most important but least understood issues now facing the nation. A few weeks ago, after some hesitation, Clinton announced that he supports the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), though characteristically he did so with reservations. But, as David Moberg recently pointed out (*ITT*, Oct. 14), Clinton's reservations are marginal. And he has had virtually nothing to say on the equally important Uruguay Round of negotiations on the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT).

Both treaties, as negotiated by Carla Hills, Bush's trade representative, would undermine U.S. environmental and labor standards. Written from the corporate point of view, these treaties are designed to increase short-term profits and undermine wage levels and various state and federal laws protecting working people's health and safety. Because the U.S. Constitution makes treaties the supreme law of the land, trade agreements negotiated in secret would take precedence over existing laws, and tribunals set up under GATT or NAFTA would have power to overturn federal and state regulations and standards. In

fact, Mexico has already sued the U.S. in a GATT tribunal to overturn the Marine Mammal Protection Act, which prohibits the sale in the U.S. of tuna from countries that kill more than 20,000 dolphins annually in purse-seine nets. So far the GATT panel has sided with Mexico.

In other words, the Bush administration would like to use both the GATT and NAFTA treaties to enhance corporate power at the expense of working people and the public interest. And the administration has also hoped to use the treaties to shift the balance of power in the federal government from Congress, which is the branch most accountable to the public, to international bodies and unelected officials in the executive branch. The decisions made by these people would be far removed from public view or accountability. And they would all be based on the bottom line.

WHITHER CLINTON?

Where, then, will Clinton stand on these matters? In endorsing NAFTA—with reservations—is he on the side of those who want to use the treaty to undermine labor standards and environmental protection, or will he renegotiate the treaty to provide for an upgrading of labor and environmental standards in Mexico? Clearly, if Clinton follows the wishes of his largest money men, he will come down on the side of capital. But if Jesse Jackson's suggestion is taken up by labor, environmentalists and other progressive groups, they may be able to force him to reconsider the basic thrust of NAFTA and GATT, and we might then get a treaty that protects American standards by raising those in the Third World.

What's true for trade treaties is true for most issues in the current presidential campaign. Clinton talks about guaranteeing universal health care, and in recent weeks he has even begun attacking the inefficiencies and waste of private insurance companies. He began the campaign advocating a pay-or-play plan that would benefit the insurance industry and establish a grossly unequal two-tiered system, but he now appears to have shifted to a managed-care plan. This moves toward the Bush plan (see John B. Judis, page 3) and also falls far short of the equity and efficiency of a single-payer plan, advocated by some 50 House members.

The final decision, of course, will not be made by Clinton alone. It will be made by Congress, and that decision, just like Clinton's, could be strongly influenced by sustained public pressure.

Which brings us back to Jesse Jackson. He's right—Nov. 4 is a beginning, not an end. It offers an opportunity to begin transforming our country, and in the process to save its soul—and that of our new president.

POISONING

the National Toxics Campaign

By W. K. Burke

FOR THE PAST EIGHT YEARS, THE grass-roots organizers of the National Toxics Campaign (NTC) have helped lay the foundations for a movement for environmental democracy.

In Jacksonville, Ark., Ponca City, Okla., Denver Colo., and dozens of other cities and small towns, the NTC's organizers have shown that people can organize and overcome polluting corporations and government officials who are willing to look the other way as people are poisoned in their homes.

But everything has a price—and current and former staff members claim the NTC's was \$200,000.

During the past year, the NTC's top brass severed ties with several of the organization's grass-roots leaders, while at the same time soliciting a large grant from one of its long-time foes.

CLOSING UP SHOP

This past spring Adrienne Anderson, NTC's regional organizer for the Midwest and Rocky Mountain regions, resigned and closed the Denver office that she had built into a national model for anti-toxics activism. Since 1984, Anderson has rallied families whose children were dying, teaching them to fight back and drawing attention to a ring of polluted sites that surround Denver—including the Rocky Flats nuclear production site, the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, and sites contaminated by the Coors and Martin Marietta corporations.

Anderson transformed people shattered by the mysterious illnesses and deaths of their children into powerful advocates for change. Their battles for justice have made it onto the pages of the *New York Times* and been featured in NTC grant proposals. But fundamental changes in management have discredited the NTC in the eyes of some of its grass-roots leaders and forced Anderson and others to leave the organization they helped to build.

"I'm contending that the NTC's national management sold the Denver office (of the NTC) to the person who presided over the non-enforcement of Colorado's hazardous waste laws, and participated in the subsequent cover-up of the health effects," Anderson says. "He is now the largest single funder for the organization."

Anderson is talking about former Colorado Department of Public Health Executive Director Thomas M. Vernon. From 1983 until the end of 1990, Vernon was entrusted with protecting Colorado's public water supplies and enforcing hazardous waste laws—tasks the NTC and local grass-roots organizers claim he ignored. Yet soon after leaving that post, Vernon was endowed with the power to veto a \$200,000 grant the NTC desperately needed.

A BLIND EYE

While digging through public records in the mid-'80s, Anderson found evidence that the office Vernon headed had known that wastes from a Martin Marietta rocket fuel production facility had been dumped for 30 years

into Brush Creek, which flows into a public water supply that at the time served a number of Denver suburbs.

In one of these suburbs, Friendly Hills, residents reported a mysterious cluster of cancers, birth defects and seizure disorders afflicting 37 of the community's children. Twelve children

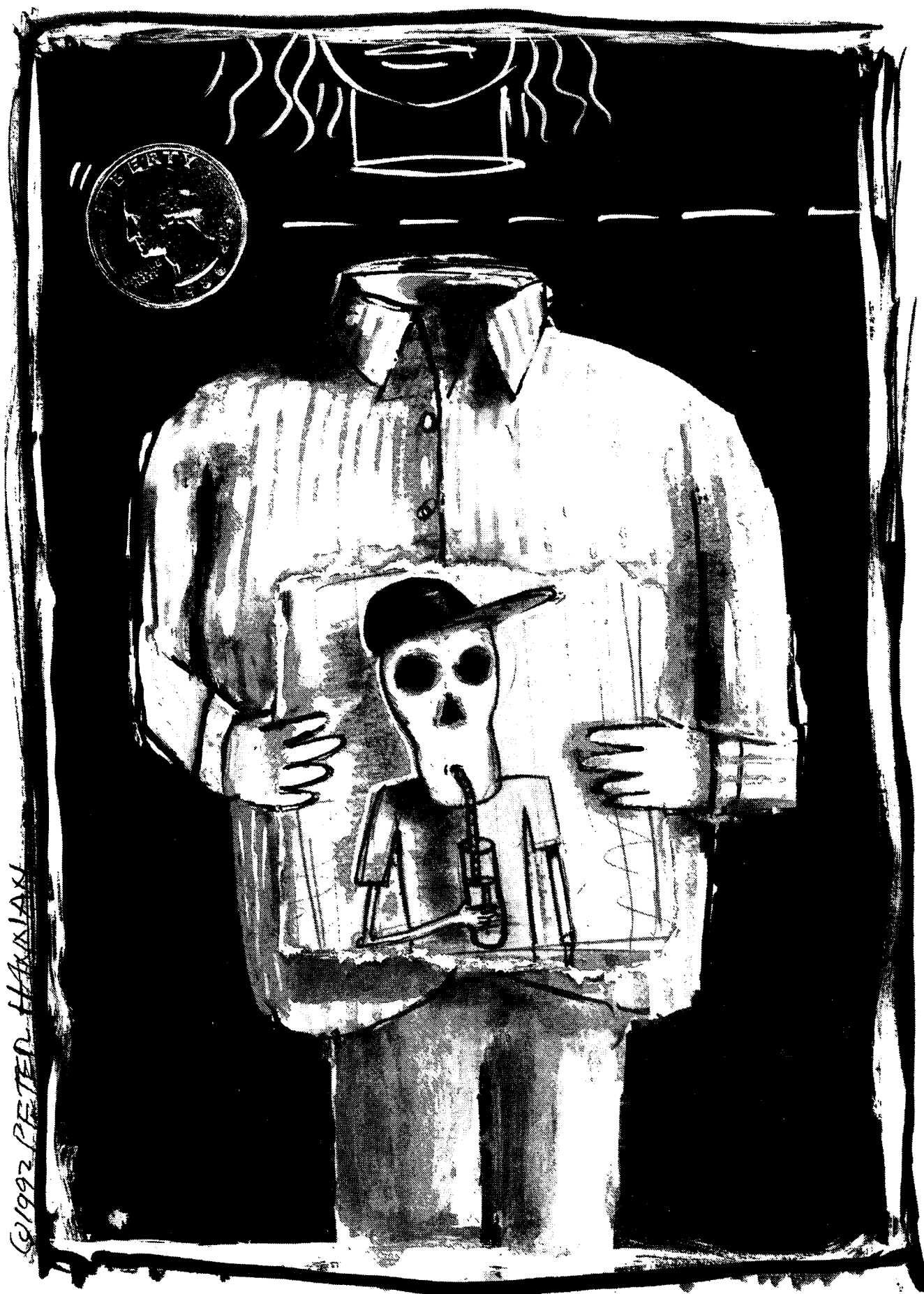
had already died when Anderson, then executive director of Colorado Citizen Action Network, began investigating. Another four have died since.

Research by Anderson and epidemiology experts David Ozonoff and Richard Clapp found that all 37 children showed symptoms

of illnesses consistent with the effects of ingesting rocket fuel byproducts and heavy metals such as those Martin Marietta dumped into Brush Creek.

In 1984, a *Denver Post* article about Martin Marietta's pollution forced the Denver Water

Continued on following page



Continued from preceding page

Board to close the well below Brush Creek. Dan Jones, the reporter who conducted the *Post* investigation, used information supplied by Anderson and the Friendly Hills Health Action Group.

In 1990, U.S. District Court Judge Zita Weinshienk acknowledged that Martin Marietta had been responsible for "massive contamination" of the water table supplying Friendly Hills with drinking water. Weinshienk, however, dismissed a lawsuit brought by some of the Friendly Hills families against Martin Marietta and the Denver Water Board, on the grounds that the medical evidence was too weak to support a claim that the children died as a result of drinking the contaminated water. Weinshienk's ruling was upheld by the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals earlier this year.

A FLUKE?

The Friendly Hills families have long insisted that Vernon's failure to act destroyed their case. As Colorado's top public health official, Vernon refused to conduct epidemiological studies of the Friendly Hills cancer cluster. He dismissed the small neighborhood's elevated rate of childhood cancers—two and a half times the U.S. average—as a fluke.

"When I reviewed Colorado Department of Public Health files in 1985, I found that there had been zero enforcement of dozens of Clean Water Act violations," Anderson says. "In 1985 the EPA found more than 100 toxic compounds in Brush Creek. [NTC lab director] Marco Kaltofen took a sample in 1989 and found 28 parts per billion of hydrazine [a potent carcinogen used in rocket fuel production] in Brush Creek. The creek flows into the South Platte River and the Chatfield Reservoir, a state recreation area. The federal standard for hydrazine is 1.4 parts per trillion."

In 1987, Anderson, by then western regional director for the NTC, and members of the Friendly Hills Health Action Group showed some of the files from Vernon's department to the Colorado attorney general to buttress their claims that Vernon had publicly lied about the extent of the threat to drinking water posed by the contamination of Brush Creek. After a two-year investigation, Colorado Attorney General Duane Woodard reported to Gov. Roy Romer in late 1989 that he found "no prosecutable violations of law by Department of Health employees."

Vernon's comments to reporters at the time suggested that Woodard had cleared his name. But actually the attorney general's report cited "a serious lack of communication and coordination between the Hazardous Waste Management Division and the Water Quality Control Division within the Department of Health"—a bureaucratically correct way of agreeing that Vernon's department knew pollution was seeping into public waterways and drinking water supplies but failed to act.

Anderson smelled a cover-up when an investigator from the attorney general's office told her that the phrase "no prosecutable violations of law," referred in part to the fact that the 12-month statute of limitations on the law forbidding public officials from making false statements had run out.

Anderson had already publicly called for Gov. Romer to fire Vernon. After Woodard released his report, Anderson held another news conference and asked again for Vernon to be removed from his post. She was joined by Friendly Hills residents and Irondale mobile home park residents, who had been

poisoned with nerve gas and pesticides during a Superfund clean-up, but whom Vernon had steadfastly refused to evacuate.

CHARITABLE CAUSE AND EFFECT

Vernon was never fired. At the end of 1990, he resigned from his post to take a job as director of health and human services of the Pew Charitable Trust in Philadelphia. Originally established by the founders of the Sun

Did the prospect of big money from an old enemy force a good organization to sell out its ideals as well as some of its workers?

Oil Company to counter the influence of the civil rights movement within the Presbyterian Church, the Pew Trust has widened its scope and funds a variety of mainstream civic, cultural and feel-good corporate causes. When Vernon took the Pew job, the NTC was awaiting approval of a \$200,000 grant to support its Citizens' Laboratory in Boston. The interdisciplinary grant was to be considered jointly by Vernon's department and Pew's environmental program.

Vernon was more than familiar with the Citizens' Laboratory—which helped provide the evidence Anderson used to call for Vernon's firing in Colorado. In fact, shortly before Vernon left Colorado, Anderson embarrassed him at a public meeting by producing data from the Citizen's Lab that showed the presence of benzene, a widely used industrial carcinogen, and several pesticides in a well in rural Henderson, Colo. Vernon insisted the area's wells were not threatened by those contaminants and questioned the reliability of the Citizen's Lab. A few days later, however, Anderson obtained the results of tests conducted by Vernon's department showing similar contamination in several other area wells.

COMING HOME TO ROOST

When the NTC was formed, it was divided for tax purposes into two separate organizations, the NTC Fund and NTC Inc. The NTC Fund provided research and organizational assistance to grass-roots groups. NTC Inc. lobbied and canvassed to build support for toxic waste clean-ups and toxic-use reduction.

Anderson said that early in 1991 Gary Cohen, executive director of the National Toxics Campaign Fund, told her that Vernon was blocking the Pew grant and bad-mouthing Anderson to the Pew board and to Pew environmental program director Josh Richert.

Recently Richert said he did not recall that "that woman's" (Anderson) name came up in any of the discussions about the grant. "Tom Vernon really tried to set the entire past aside and looked at the technical side of the proposal. Whatever this woman was doing in Colorado had no relation to this process."

But Cohen contradicted Richert's claim in a tape-recorded conversation with Anderson in which he acknowledged that Richert told him Vernon was circulating among members of the Pew Board an op-ed piece from the *Denver Post* slamming Anderson as an "hysteric."

A confidential memo Cohen later distributed within the NTC also casts doubt upon Richert's claim that Vernon did his best to forget the Denver saga when assessing the NTC grant. Cohen wrote that while the grant was being considered, "Tom Vernon came to work

for Pew as the program director for health. This added another difficulty in getting a grant, because he had a very negative opinion of the NTC Fund through his dealings with (Anderson) when he was director of the Colorado Health Department. ... Richert called John and I and told us that Vernon was in a position to block a potential grant to NTCF. Josh suggested a meeting with Vernon, where

we could talk about the overall program of NTCF."

STAYING ALIVE

On July 11, 1991, NTC board chairman and founder John O'Connor, NTC lab director Marco Kaltofen and Gary Cohen met with Richert and Vernon at the Pew offices in Philadelphia.

Vernon described that meeting in a recent interview. Vernon admitted to complaining to the NTC executives about Anderson's tactics and even said that NTC president O'Connor agreed that sometimes Anderson went too far. But Vernon says he never implied that Anderson stood in the way of the NTC grant.

"The obvious question that comes up is [whether I] told them that if they didn't dump her they wouldn't get the grant," he says. "Absolutely not. There was no such discussion and I hope there wasn't any implication of it."

The meeting in Philadelphia kept the NTC's grant request alive. It was much needed. The NTC was in the midst of severe financial woes, and would finish 1991 owing creditors more than \$160,000.

But NTC's problems weren't only financial. Internal memos obtained by *In These Times*, as well as interviews with former NTC officials, show that O'Connor and Cohen had come to a parting of the ways.

In the fall of 1991, the NTC was restructured in what several NTC insiders called a "coup" by Cohen. A committee of board members loyal to Cohen removed O'Connor from his post as executive director of the debt-ridden NTC Inc., replacing him with Cohen—effectively giving Cohen direct control of the day-to-day operations of both sides of the organization. O'Connor became the chairman of the board of the National Toxics Campaign, or visionary and "medicine man," as one Cohen memo put it.

ROLLING HEADS

After assuming control of the NTC, Cohen sent Anderson a lay-off notice. Philip Hufford, Anderson's co-worker in the Denver office, was also let go. Eliminating the NTC's Denver office seemed surprising at a time when

The NTC's financial troubles

At the time Pew was considering the National Toxics Campaign's grant, the organization had fallen on hard times.

In fact, just before the meeting at Pew's offices, at a time when Adrienne Anderson insists Gary Cohen was still telling her that Tom Vernon was blocking NTC's Pew grant, the NTC's most implacable foes had learned to the dollar how badly the organization needed money.

A few weeks before NTC officials met with representatives of Pew in Philadelphia, Dan Dunn, a senior trial attorney with the firm defending both Martin Marietta and Vertac Chemical Company in anti-toxics cases, had flown to Boston to conduct a deposition of Andy Burr, NTC's chief financial officer.

Ostensibly Dunn was there to gather information for the defense of a case filed against Vertac by the NTC and an affiliated citizen's group based in Jacksonville, Ark. (The poisoning of Jacksonville by Vertac's Agent Orange plant was the subject of a three-part series by Dick Russell in *In These Times* in March 1988.) But Dunn's questioning of Burr suggested a wider agenda.

He asked how much Anderson earned and who paid the rent on the NTC's Denver office. Anderson's Denver foes have long tried to spread a rumor that she receives kickbacks from the Friendly Hills plaintiffs' attorneys in return for her services as a fear-monger and rabble-rouser.

Though Dunn failed to uncover any dirt on Anderson or NTC's Denver office, he did learn that as of May 31, 1991, NTC Inc. owed its creditors \$175,000.

This debt resulted from a long-term crisis and prompted a turning point in the NTC's history. The organization was founded in 1984 by John O'Connor, who a few years later brought in his old Clark University buddy Gary Cohen as grant writer.

By 1990 the NTC, which could rightly claim much of the credit for organizing the grass-roots support that led to the passage of the tough 1986 Superfund toxic waste clean-up amendments, had grown to 100,000 members with 25 employees and an annual budget of \$1.5 million.

NTC Inc., with O'Connor as executive director, lobbied and canvassed to build support for toxic waste clean-ups and toxic-use reduction while the NTC Fund, with Cohen in charge, was meant to provide research assistance and a strong public voice for many of the grass-roots groups fighting toxic waste dumps and incinerators across the country.

But the grass-roots portion of the NTC was in trouble in the fall of 1991. NTC Inc. was thousands of dollars in debt to the Hudson Bay Corporation, a Minneapolis-based for-profit firm that runs canvasses to raise money for non-profit organizations. But Hudson Bay, which demands control over both the personnel policies of its clients and the bookkeeping and accounting of its fundraising campaigns, has a history of teetering on the edge of fraud.

Hudson Bay is under investigation by the South Carolina secretary of state for allegedly setting up a fake non-profit environmental group in order to raise money. Hudson Bay has, in turn, sued the South Carolina secretary of state for slander because he claimed the company keeps a few clients happy to provide a public relations cover while milking other non-profits for thousands of dollars.

Certainly NTC's experience fits this pattern. By the end of 1991, after two years of Hudson Bay canvassing, NTC Inc. reportedly had debts of \$160,000—largely due to supporting the canvasses.

W.K.B.

LETTERS

Braun on Israel

Your piece on Carol Moseley Braun's senatorial campaign (*ITT*, Sept. 30) failed to mention her position on the Middle East. It is the standard uncritically pro-Israel line of most liberal Democrats. Even when the right-wing Likud bloc was in power, Braun insisted that U.S. assistance to Israel be unconditional, indicating her opposition to linking foreign aid to a country's record on human rights or international law. She refers to the West Bank and Gaza as being "within the confines of Israel's current borders," demonstrating ignorance of basic principles of international law, which do not recognize acquisition of territory seized by military force.

Braun also opposes Palestinian statehood, demonstrating her opposition to the right of national self-determination, for which millions throughout the Third World have struggled for most of this century. Braun supports large-scale military aid to Israel despite the use of this aid against civilian targets in Lebanon and by occupation forces in the West Bank and Gaza, demonstrating her beliefs that humanitarian concerns should not be a factor in decisions involving arms transfers. She also perpetuates racist anti-Arab stereotypes by falsely claiming that no Arab state "provides rights and justice for women."

Braun has met with representatives of the Israeli peace movement, who have argued that her positions actually hurt Israel's long-term security interests. She has dismissed these concerns out of hand, instead throwing her allegiance to the Israeli right wing.

Braun would bring badly needed racial and gender diversity to the U.S. Senate, and she is certainly superior to her right-wing Republican opponent on most issues. But as her position on the Middle East demonstrates, she will likely continue incumbent Sen. Alan Dixon's neo-conservative foreign-policy agenda.

Stephen Zunes

Executive Director, Institute for a New Middle East Policy
Bainbridge Island, Wash.

Health insurance and employment

It's a pity that David Moberg's piece on the disappearing leisure of the American worker (*ITT*, Sept. 2) won't be picked up by the mainstream papers or the Clinton campaign. The U.S. labor movement has been fighting for bread so long, it's hard to remember that we used to "fight for roses, too."

The answer to Moberg's question about why capitalists are willing to work their drudges past the point of efficiency lies in the largest incidental cost of hiring a new employee: that person's health insurance premiums. It is cheaper to work someone overtime at a premium rate of pay and a degraded rate of performance than to hire someone fresh at standard wages and get socked with the new individual's insurance costs.

The role of extortionary health and workers' comp premiums in suppressing



job creation has been neglected by the mainstream press, overlooked by the alternative press and deliberately obfuscated by all the major presidential candidates. Every major candidate has been the grateful—and loyal—recipient of insurance companies' targeted largesse at some point in his career.

Thus, we have Clinton linking insurance to employment with his pay-or-play plan, rather than endorsing the Social Security-type comprehensive program that is needed; we have people who are uninsurable essentially left unemployable as well, despite the anti-discrimination provisions of the new Americans with Disabilities Act; and we have small businesses justifiably complaining that they can't afford the burden of providing decent coverage to their staffs. Not only is this yet another block to private-sector job creation, it protects large established businesses from competition with small, aggressive start-up companies.

I do not think it's an employer's job to provide health care. I don't want it to be his job: we have too little privacy already. A boss can already get your credit report, your grades and your employment history. Why should he have your medical records, too? It is much easier to control the government's use of such records than their use by a private employer.

Furthermore, reliance on an employer for health care limits worker mobility; if major illness strikes any member of the family, a new employer can refuse coverage. The hapless employee is as tied to his or her current company's health plan as the medieval serf was tied to the land.

The greatest complaint about comprehensive national health care is that "the taxpayer" will get stuck with the tab. Well, we are

already paying that tab twice over, once in our premiums at work, and once again in our Medicare and Medicaid taxes, to pay for the care of people private insurers refuse to cover.

It's not that doctors get paid too much; it's not that Americans are profligate medical consumers; it's not even that medical equipment is more costly, pound for pound, than raw gold. Our problem is that our public policy analysts can speak straight-faced about the \$43 billion savings that could be had by standardizing claim forms in the health insurance industry without for a moment talking about the zillions and zillions that would be saved by eliminating that industry altogether.

Lisa Small

Arlington, Va.

Politics on the far side

As co-chair of the Socialist Party USA, whose candidates for president and vice president of the United States are J. Quinn Brisben and Barbara Garson, I write to call your attention to the false statement currently being circulated by the New Alliance Party. Barbara Garson is not the running mate of Lenora Fulani on the Liberty Union (Vermont) ticket or any other.

The national secretary of the Socialist Party, Ann Rosenhaft, telephoned me this morning to read to me a press release she had received in which the New Alliance Party announced that the Liberty Union Party of Vermont had chosen Lenora Fulani of NAP as its candidate for president and, in a gesture of "reconciliation," had chosen Barbara Garson of the Socialist Party as its candidate for vice president.

Peter Diamondstone, the secretary of the

Liberty Union Party, is quoted as saying he was grateful to Fulani and the New Alliance Party—otherwise Liberty Union "wouldn't have a candidate." This statement is deeply disturbing, since Liberty Union had already, at their caucus on June 27, tentatively chosen J. Quinn Brisben as its presidential candidate, and he was, in fact, available. If, however, Liberty Union, for whatever reason, did not want to nominate Brisben, there were other reasonable choices, notably Ron Daniels, who has mounted an excellent campaign, focusing on the issues.

Barbara Garson never agreed to be the running mate of Lenora Fulani, and Dr. Fulani's office, as well as the Liberty Union Party and the Vermont election authorities, were notified immediately after the Sept. 6 convention that she refused the nomination.

There is a tragedy for me in seeing Liberty Union, at one time a responsible voice of dissent in Vermont and on whose ticket I was proud to run for president in 1980, disintegrate so completely. The meeting at which these nominations took place had fewer than 20 people present and, according to a Socialist Party member who was present and has been in touch with me, was packed with New Alliance people. The New Alliance Party, a combination of a personality cult around Fred Newman and a shabby political framework which has associated itself with the Rev. Louis Farrakhan, is in no way a part of the tradition of democratic radical dissent in this country.

And it is sad that Peter Diamondstone, who has a solid record as a political maverick in Vermont, has allowed himself to be caught in a situation where as Liberty Union candidate for Congress he is in direct conflict with Congressman Bernie Sanders. Sanders has established an excellent record in Congress when all or most have been shown to be on the take in one way or another, and has stood head and shoulders above the pack. Every citizen of Vermont, whether they agree with him or not, has reason to take pride in his integrity and courage.

The New Alliance Party is already on the Vermont ballot, and its move to capture the Liberty Union line for president was not an effort toward any kind of cooperation with the democratic left but rather an attempt to ensure that Vermont would not have a genuine socialist alternative on the ballot.

David McReynolds

Co-Chair, Socialist Party USA
New York

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



By James Soderholm

Foul language and the academic left

IN COLLEGE, I HAD A SUMMER JOB working on a landscaping crew at Fort Belvoir, Va. According to my supervisor, we did not pull weeds from flower beds or cut grass: We "expedited work accomplishments." In an army publication I read that soldiers did not suffer "shell-shock" but "post-traumatic stress disorder." That the government, the military and advertisers—to name only the worst offenders—glory in euphemisms, bombast, and gobbledygook barely deserves further notice.

What concerns me is how intellectuals, especially those of progressive bent of mind, produce bodies of jargon easily as stupefying, evasive and just plain ludicrous as anything dreamed up by a field commander or marketing specialist. How have we become so tone-deaf, hyperbolic and fatuous? Why do intellectuals in academia imitate the noxious practices of those they often wish to criticize? Why do progressive intellectuals often write and speak in a language foreign to the very audience in whose interests claim to campaign?

At one end of the left spectrum is the bracing and blunt language of the *Communist Manifesto* (proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains!). At the other end is the supernaturally difficult jargon of the

post-Althusserian intellectual who speaks of "positionality" of one's "subject-function," to the "radical alterity" of texts, the "aggressivity" of the downtrodden. The what? Soon we will no doubt refer to hate crimes as "felonious aggressivity."

In today's preferred academic jargon, the words just cited from the *Communist Manifesto* might be rewritten as: The underclasses have nothing to lose but their ideological state apparatuses!

The abstruse language of many modern Marxist critics forges chains anew, a linguistic version of what William Blake called "mind-forged manacles." Such fetters bind together a select group of intellectuals and leave the rest to their more substantial oppression.

For all his good work, Michel Foucault helped to impose a lot of this foul language on the left. Foucault's works have all the technical majesty of scientific inquiry. But for whom are his books written? How many of those who might gain by their insights cannot even begin to fathom their impressive terms, their "enunciative modalities" and "discursive formations"? In an odd way, this kind of language tries to make the two cultures—letters and science—one again. But who is fooling whom? Social scientists and English professors and sociologists will never be able to measure their progress in the way physicists and physicians do.

When I try to read an article in the *Journal of Nuclear Medicine*, I am altogether stymied by the technical vocabulary researchers use to report their findings, but I have little doubt that some verifiable progress is being made and that other practitioners in the field will be able to understand the jargon of their peers. But there is no meaningful analogy between this kind of technical jargon and the kind one sees in the so-called social sciences. I don't care if doctors write only for other doctors, but I do care if intellectuals who claim to have a social mission or a political program write only for other academics. One begins to suspect that the world outside academia doesn't matter as much as upholstering one's career in the plush patois of the day. To invert Nietzsche's reading of the Greeks: How little we must have suffered to become so ugly.

To overcompensate for their lack of progress, many intellectuals try to out-Foucault Foucault, a dangerous business. Let me cite a few examples.

One of the literary academy's smartest Marxist critics, Fredric Jameson, traffics in willful obscurantism. He says this is done to keep his sentences from being consumed like other commodities. Ideas, for Jameson, should not be devoured like fast food or MTV. Instead, in Jameson's *The Political Unconscious*, we see how being purposefully difficult causes intellectual indigestion.

"So Lukacs is not wrong to associate the emergence of this modernism with the reification which is its precondition; but he oversimplifies and deproblematizes a complicated and interesting situation by ignoring the

Utopian vocation of the newly reified sense, the mission of this heightened and autonomous language of color to restore at least a symbolic experience of libidinal gratification to a world drained of it, a world of extension, gray and merely quantifiable."

Never let it be said that Jameson "oversimplifies and deproblematizes a complicated and interesting situation." His prose style, at once reified and libidinal, enacts the sentence's content. At the end of Jameson's book, we get this theoretical call to arms, or call to theoretical arms:

"If the Mannheimian overtones of this dual perspective—ideology and Utopia—remain active enough to offer communicational noise and conceptual interference, then alternative formulations may be proposed, in

Language follows the down-slope of history: From "nothing to lose but its chains" to the "positionality" of one's "subject-function."

which an instrumental analysis is coordinated with a collective-associational or communal reading of culture, or in which a functional method for describing cultural texts is articulated with an anticipatory one."

In this fugue of dissonance, one is expected to hear the melody of Utopia. But the Jamesonian overtones in this sentence offer about as much "communicational noise and conceptual interference" as one could want.

A self-avowed "feminist Marxist deconstructivist" (a job description that would make Polonius blush), Gayatri Spivak also writes as though her audience had a collective Ph.D. in academic cant.

"At one moment, the fact that the entire complex network of advanced capitalist economy hinges on home-buying, and that the philosophy of home-ownership is intimately linked to the sanctity of the nuclear family, shows how encompassingly the uterine form of womanhood supports the phallic norm of capitalism. At the other end of the spectrum, it is this ideological-material repression of the clitoris as the signifier of the sexed subject that operates the specific oppression of women, as the lowest level of the cheap labor that the multinational corporations employ by remote control in the extraction of absolute surplus-value in the less-developed countries."

For many blithe homeowners and unhappy housewives, Spivak's analysis will come as bad news. They are spared this news, howev-

er, because so few of them will understand what's on her mind. What's the point, then, of such a shrewd analysis? The citation above was extracted from an essay entitled "French Feminism in an International Frame," a discussion of how feminist criticism "will straddle and undo the ideological-material opposition." Spivak concludes her essay on a hopeful note:

"For me, [such a critique] is the best gift of French feminism. ... Here is a theme that can liberate my colleague from Sudan, and a theme the old washerwoman by the river would understand."

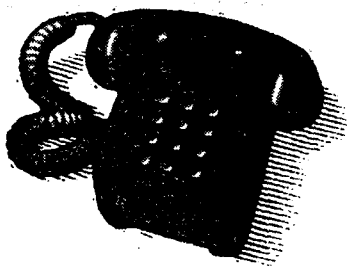
Spivak's academic colleague might find this sort of high-brow feminism emancipating, but I doubt if the old washerwoman would get much out of it. Spivak once told me she enjoyed being called a "vulgar Marxist." But one need not study at the Sorbonne and consume volumes of Lacan and Kristeva to understand the nature of one's oppression. Like Jameson, Spivak writes for a group of would-be radical mandarins whose writings, truffled with theoretical jargon, have nothing to say to common readers, far less to sad washerwomen.

Are there any good examples to follow? Like many intellectuals, I have discovered a hero in Vaclav Havel and, what's more, a champion of direct, honest speech. Havel is a statesman who makes surprising connections with idiomatic tact. In a recent interview, Havel observes that "good taste, oddly enough, plays an important role in politics? Why is that? The most probable reason is that good taste is a visible manifestation of human sensibility toward the world, environment, people. I came to this castle and to other governmental residences inherited from communism, and I was confronted with tasteless furniture and many tasteless pictures. Only then did I realize how closely the bad taste of former rulers was connected with their bad way of ruling."

Havel's language—so simple and elegant—helps make a case for the importance of being tasteful. The use of hoary jargon shows a kind of tastelessness of thought and expression. Havel rarely uses the hyperbolic language of the left except in quotation marks. If he does not end up as president of the new Czech state, it will not be because he is incomprehensible to his audience.

I am not calling for a single style of expression, a proletarian vocabulary that will help unlock the revolution. I am merely encouraging those who consider themselves both progressives and intellectuals to write for an audience greater than that of the *Partisan Review* or Cornell University Press. Unfortunately, the professionalization of intellectual inquiry and debate has encouraged many to express their ideas in a technical language written only for other specialists. We must reverse this process. Intellectuals must not "expedite work accomplishments" for the benefit of stilted academics but engage in a private labor of love for the public good. They have nothing to lose but their pretensions. They have an audience to gain.

James Soderholm is assistant professor of English at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.



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By Harvey J. Kaye

The last intellectuals, or teachers for a new society?

AFTER MORE THAN A DECADE of conservative assaults on the humanities and social studies, the recent formation of Teachers for a Democratic Culture is a welcome development. Confronting the political character of the attacks upon us and calling for the energetic defense of diversification and democratization of higher education, TDC speaks to those of us who came to intellectual and academic life in the '60s and early '70s inspired by a vision of scholarly and pedagogical labors as contributing to the democratic struggles of the day. And yet, in limiting its objectives to the defense of recent innovations in higher education, the manifesto issued by the new organization has too narrow a vision. Indeed, it represents a lowering of aspirations and a failure to grasp the challenges before us.

Academics do need to organize, but not simply to secure our own accomplishments. We need to work more effectively and more broadly for democratic culture, politics and social change. To recall the words of the great Jewish sage, Hillel: "If I am not for myself, who will be? But if I am only for myself, what am I? If not now, then when?"

Clearly, the defining feature of the past generation of American political history has been the rise to political prominence of a new conservative coalition under the banner of Reagan Republicanism. The formation of this New Right was based on a shared apprehension that the struggles of minorities, women and labor might lead to a broad alliance for social democracy and racial and gender justice and equality. But the most immediate threat—according to the emergent leadership of the New Right—was the growing influence of the adversary culture of the media, foundations and universities. Thus, corporate elites set about establishing foundations and underwriting a predominantly extra-academic "counter-intelligentsia" to command media attention, reshape the public agenda and delegitimize the activities of value-oriented intellectuals who often devote themselves to challenging authority. The objective of the charges was not simply to marginalize the left but to create a new conservative national consensus.

Admittedly, the forces of the New Right have failed to accomplish their goals fully. In fact, the New Right coalition is breaking up. Nevertheless, their campaigns have wrought confusion, division and hardship in American life. Moreover, even if they have failed to create a new post-liberal consensus, in one important respect the New Right has succeeded: The struggles of the '60s and early '70s are apparently subdued and political expectations and aspirations are dramatically reduced. The anger displayed in the Los Angeles uprisings this past spring and the alienation and dissatisfaction expressed in the course of the '92 election campaigns attest to a deep crisis in American social and public life.

A democratic politics to articulate popular frustrations with the increasing distance between American ideals and American realities is sorely missing. Sadly, the past decade and a half has also witnessed a

retreat of the intellectual left. And all fingers point to the universities and the academics, especially those in the humanities and social sciences. And while it is true that a generation of New Left scholars has secured itself in colleges and universities with tenure, where we have opened our respective disciplines to new approaches and subjects, it must be acknowledged that all too often we have directed our intellectual efforts and agencies to

The New Right coalition is breaking up, but it succeeded in subduing the political expectations of the early '60s. Now it's time to take up the burden again.

merely scholarly concerns and academic politics, thereby participating in our own alienation from public culture and debate.

Circumstances demand that we reassert the vision of intellectual activity that first engaged our imaginations and aspirations. We should begin by recalling the arguments of the late C. Wright Mills. Mills' arguments in *The Sociological Imagination* inspired many of us to become academics. He challenged the limited conception of democratic public culture celebrated by politicians and pundits alike. Mills wrote that democratic life should not and must not be construed in terms of a marketplace, reduced merely to "choosing between set alternatives." Democracy, he insisted, meant popular participation in these decisions.

Mills further recognized that the revitalization of a vibrant democratic civil society required a vigorous class of public intellectuals. Their function was not to serve as philosopher-kings—or as advisers to the king, the roles aspired to by the ideologues of the New Right—but to be citizen-scholars, "directing their work at kings and to publics."

When such publics are missing, Mills added, it becomes the task of public intellectuals to work toward their invigoration. He called upon academics to play this role: "It is the political task of ... the liberal educator continually to translate personal troubles into public issues, and public issues into the terms of human meaning for a variety of individuals."

The situation is different today. The phenomenal postwar boom of Mills' time is long gone. Nevertheless, great possibilities present themselves, and we are endowed by experience and scholarship with the lessons of the accomplishments and the defeats of our own earlier struggles for civil, political and social equality. Indeed, the problem of contemporary American public life is arguably not even the absence of publics but their particularities and incoherence—the failure and seeming incapacity of existing movements for social jus-

tice and equality to develop a common agenda for social change. It is here that the critical and democratic intellectual should be working.

TOWARD TRUE CITIZENSHIP

We should aspire to realize the possibilities that frighten our antagonists—especially, the formation of a broad radical-democratic coalition. In addition to directing our work more smartly and aggressively at the powers that be, we in the universities must renew engagements with existing publics—the labor movement, women's and minorities' rights groups, and environmental, community and religious organizations. We have particular knowledges and skills to proffer. As students of culture and society, we are bearers of public histories. We should strive to make ourselves capable of speaking, writing and teaching in the vernacular and by way of a variety of public means. Such endeavors represent a natural yet critical extension of what we have already been pursuing in our research and teaching.

At the same time, our task requires that we listen to and learn from those with whom we hope to effect changes. Our ambition should be to help articulate the experiences, concerns, hopes and aspirations of people with whom we are engaged. It is particularly important to facilitate conversations among the various publics and to elaborate shared priorities and visions.

There are deep fissures in American society, but they are not unbridgeable. The most immediate issues and problems around which diverse groups might come together are: securing national health care, guaranteed family incomes and productive and respectable jobs; increasing public investments in our cultural and material infrastructures from public schooling and housing to parks, roads and bridges; and extending regional and en-

vironmental planning in favor of urban vitality and development.

Addressing the crisis of American public and political life will take more than seeking to foment the creation of a social-democratic coalition, a "new majority," as the late Michael Harrington put it. Reaffirming the ideals expressed 30 years ago in the Port Huron Statement, we should strive to refashion and enlarge the realm of democratic citizenship. This will entail critical exploration of the meanings of democracy past and present. In the light of those explorations, we may extend democratic practices to long-excluded domains such as economic and industrial life. We can argue about the relationship between capitalism and democracy, but they are very much alike in one respect: The well-being of democracy, like capitalism, requires its continual growth and development.

What are such dreams and aspirations against the resources of the right and the powers they have been serving? And how can the particularism of the organized and the cynicism of the disenchanted possibly be overcome? In this dramatic bicentennial of the first Age of Revolution, it is well to remember the prophetic words of Citizen Tom Paine: "What Archimedes said of the mechanical powers may be applied to Reason and Liberty: 'Had we,' said he, 'a place to stand upon, we might raise the world.'"

Harvey J. Kaye teaches at the University of Wisconsin-Green Bay and is the author of *The Powers of the Past* and *The Education of Desire*.

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Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America

By Bruce Perry
Station Hill, 542 pp., \$24.95

By Gregory Stephens

PEOPLE WHO LOVE OR hate Malcolm X often hold irreconcilable views—united only by the “X” which now serves as a million-dollar marketing symbol onto which our racial obsessions are projected. As Bruce Perry’s groundbreaking biography makes clear, Malcolm was a very complicated human being who spoke several different languages to several different audiences.

Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America is the first full biography of Malcolm. Its publication in late 1991 coincided with a resurgence of interest in America’s premier “black nationalist.” The paperback version of the book is due out in early November, in anticipation of Spike Lee’s film portrait of Malcolm, which will undoubtedly serve as a lightning rod for fights over who the “real” Malcolm was and what he means to America today. Twenty-seven years after his assassination, Malcolm’s different audiences still scarcely speak to each other. According to Perry, these divisions reflect Malcolm’s own life.

THE REAL MALCOLM

Perry, who edited *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*, has interviewed more than 420 people who knew Malcolm. He talked to Malcolm’s family and friends from Nebraska and Michigan, fellow criminals in Boston and New York, prison officials and many Black Muslim associates. The portrait that emerges will shock many who have bought into one of the “mythic” Malcolms created by Malcolm himself, his followers or his enemies.

“The story of Malcolm’s life is a biographical testament to both the worst and best in human nature and will comfort neither his detractors nor his idolaters,” writes Perry. Those willing to look at the man behind the myth can find in Perry’s book crucial clues on American race relations as they played out in the life of the man born Malcolm Little.

Like many public figures, Malcolm fictionalized elements in his life to suit his ideological aims. Perry’s research indicates that the “Malcolm” we read about in the Alex Haley-edited autobiography is about as far from the “real” Malcolm as, say, Henry Miller is from the “Henry” in his autobiographical novels.

Demythologizing Malcolm X

One of the most controversial findings of this book is likely to be its debunking of many of Malcolm’s claims to racial victimization. “Despite his efforts to attribute his unhappiness and his youthful delinquency to white ‘society,’ they originated largely in his loveless, conflict-ridden home,” writes Perry. Although Malcolm had his share of racial clashes, most of his interactions with whites seem to have been positive.

For instance, Perry has been able to find no evidence of a confrontation Malcolm said his mother Louise had with the Ku Klux Klan. Nor can he find any evidence that the death of his father Earl, who was run over by a streetcar in Lansing, Mich., had anything to do with a white hate group called the Black Legion.

One of the central elements of Malcolm’s psychological landscape was his claim that his half-white mother was conceived after her mother was raped by a white man in Grenada. After interviewing relatives in Grenada, Perry discovered that while Malcolm’s maternal

BIOGRAPHY

grandfather was indeed a Scottish man, his relationship with Louise’s mother seems to have been consensual.

Nor do Malcolm’s tales of his family being split up by social workers seem to have much basis in fact. Court records and friends both indicate that young Malcolm requested to be placed in a juvenile home because his mother was ignoring him. This may have been

partly a result of her relationship with Earl, whom family friends describe as “a natural-born whoremonger” who was brutal to his wife and children.

Criminality was pervasive among the Littles. “From childhood onward, Malcolm would have great difficulty trying to decide whether to follow the path of virtue his father preached [as a Marcus Garvey disciple] or the path of vice he often practiced,” notes Perry. After Earl’s death, Louise retreated into a world of her own, leaving her children to fend for themselves. But Malcolm would later portray both of his parents in saintly terms, growing enraged when reporters questioned him about his past.

One pivotal incident in the Haley-edited autobiography does seem to have happened: An eighth-grade English teacher named Richard Kaminska told Malcolm that being a lawyer was “no realistic goal for a nigger.” The event shattered young Malcolm’s confidence. Malcolm had flowered for a year while living in a juvenile home in Mason, Mich., earning good grades and being elected class president. But after his teacher’s insult, he began a long, slow slide into criminality.

One of the more disturbing allegations for many of Malcolm’s fans will be the evidence of Malcolm’s

Malcolm’s attitude toward whites was more complex than we have been led to believe.

homosexual behavior. Some of this occurred while Malcolm was a boy. But as a pimp, he seems to have occasionally sold himself to men. In Perry’s view, this behavior and Malcolm’s sexism were rooted in his loveless relationship with his mother. His relationship with men also seemed to bridge the gap that existed between his idealized image of his father and the heartless behavior his father had actually exhibited.

COLOR CONFUSION

Malcolm’s attitude toward whites was also more complex than we have been led to believe. A conflicted color consciousness was deeply rooted in his family. Despite his Garveyite ambitions, Earl favored Malcolm because of his fair complexion and green eyes. His

mother Louise insisted her dad had been a white “prince.” She often scrubbed Malcolm fiercely. “I can make him look almost white if I bathe him enough,” she told a neighbor.

Malcolm was the only black in his class. His first lover was white; the women he dated up until the time he was incarcerated were all white or light-skinned blacks. He had many white friends, and his best friend in New York prior to his incarceration was a Jew named Hymie.

Part of Malcolm’s later denunciation of whites was, of course, a reaction to that era’s overt racism. But another part seems to have been overcompensation for his own racial insecurity. “When we get into power, we’re going to kill all you yellow niggers!” he told a family friend who rejected his pitch for the Nation of Islam (NOI). He later attributed his problems with NOI to it having too many “niggers.” He characterized the children of interracial unions as “racial freaks,” for whom he felt pity.

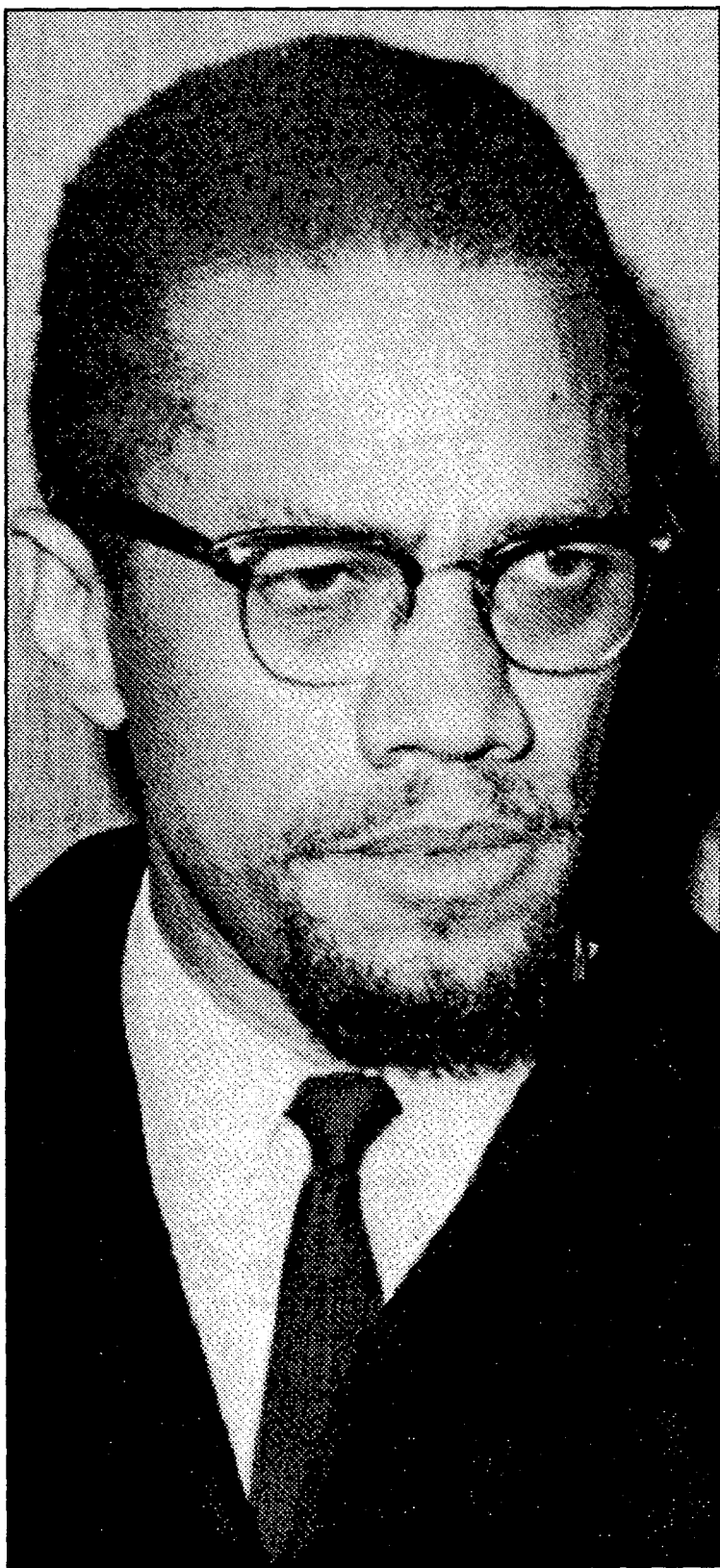
Even after Malcolm dropped the “white devil theory,” following his pilgrimage to Mecca, he still demonized whites when it suited him. He also continued to invent a personal history of victimization. He told a reporter in Egypt that whites had killed his father and four uncles, and that a white man had knifed to death one of his brothers before his very eyes.

Most of Malcolm’s black supporters “were anti-white and felt betrayed by Malcolm’s renunciation of the white devil theory,” Perry explains. “The part of Malcolm that wanted to enter the political mainstream ran aground on the incendiary rhetoric that enabled him to stay in the limelight.”

Yet Malcolm walked a tightrope. White reporters were struck by the friendly way Malcolm treated them, even after his most vicious anti-white comments. “His ability to entertain the very whites he pilloried was one of the reasons he eventually became the most sought-after speaker on the college lecture circuit,” notes Perry. When one white student cornered him and asked him to his face, “Do you really hate me?” Malcolm declined to reply. “He hated as he loved—at a safe distance,” Perry observes.

Malcolm combined an entertainer’s sensibility with a certain messianic self-concept. As a student in Michigan, Malcolm entertained his peers with dance steps on the sidewalk while on break from his dishwashing job. Later, at a club called the Lobster Pond, he danced and occasionally played the drums. “He seemed to want to be out front, on

Continued on page 20





Poster protester

Art Attack: The Midnight Politics of a Guerrilla Artist
By Robbie Conal
HarperPerennial, 64 pp., \$16

By Leslie Averbach

ROBBIE CONAL'S SARCASTIC political posters can appear almost anywhere, from switching boxes on traffic lights to highway billboards. They can be seen on NBC's *A Different World*, and are featured in movies such as *The Player*, *Bob Roberts* and *Sneakers*. But there is one place that his posters won't be seen. "I can say with absolute certainty that none of these pictures are resident in the White House," said White House spokesman Sean Walsh.

Art Attack: The Midnight Politics of a Guerrilla Artist, is Conal's first book. It is a compilation of his art and written commentary, and includes a time line of relevant political events. The book charts his mounting frustration and anger

with the Reagan/Bush era and his resolve to share his concern with a wide audience.

Conal took his work to the streets of urban America six years ago, after growing frustrated with the limited audiences of museums and galleries. This book documents his midnight postering tactics, which have taken place from Los Angeles to New York. It also is a

ART

guerrilla guide to poster-pasting empowerment with a sharp wit that is characteristic of his work.

Conal's posters satirize and sabotage the paternal, authoritarian qualities of the traditional political portrait. By making a portrait that is a cross between a smug, well-fed politician and a twisted criminal, he disrupts, at least momentarily, the polished visual surface of America. The text within the posters, full of *double entendres*, disrupts the viewer's complacency and instigates a guessing game.

Conal defamiliarizes the familiar.

Health and virility yield to confusion and paranoia in Conal's portrait of President Reagan entitled "Contra Diction." Glasses that once signified penetration and scrutiny become thick and opaque on the tight-lipped face of former National Security Adviser John Poindexter. And the Big Brother-style portrait of National Endowment for the Arts nemesis Jesse Helms is juxtaposed with a painter's palette and sandwiched between the words "Artificial Art Official."

From gang warfare to TV evangelists to politicians, Conal has consistently addressed newsworthy subjects and has steadily built a nationwide group of poster-pasting volunteers to his artistic crusade.

Conal conceived his latest work, entitled "Freedom From Choice," after President Bush vetoed legislation that would have overturned the law prohibiting state-funded clinics from discussing abortion. Funded by the Los Angeles branch of Planned Parenthood, this billboard-sized poster depicts six Supreme Court Justices who threaten to gut *Roe vs. Wade*. Three of these billboards will be mounted this month in the Los Angeles area, concurrent with the release of *Art Attack*. ■

Do it for the kids

It's ... a miracle! Through the magic of lawyers, broadcast stations have turned cartoons like *GI Joe* and *Super Mario Brothers* into educational children's programming. That's only one of the many ways broadcasters have dodged the intent of the 1990 Children's Television Act. This law mandates limits on advertising on children's television, requires stations to run educational and informational shows for kids, and bans children's programs that are designed to plug products.

A just-released study by the Center for Media Education and the Georgetown University Law Center shows that broadcasters have, with strange consistency, flouted the intent of the law. The study examined reports to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) of television stations in big, medium and small markets. The FCC requires stations to document just what they are doing for kids, but doesn't specify just how they should report. Not surprisingly, the study discovered that many—as many as a quarter of those filing, in fact—are not reporting adequately.

Worse, the stations that do bother to detail their kids programming for the FCC often sing the pro-social praises of cartoons. Here's how New Orleans station WGNO justified *GI Joe* as educational and informational: "The Joes fight against an evil that has the capabilities of mass destruction of society. Issues of social consciousness and responsibility are show themes." How about WGNO's praise of a *Leave It to Beaver* rerun, in which Eddie wallops Wally by mistake, for showing "communication and trust"? Or Jonesboro, Ark., station KAIT's description of *Santa Claus Is Coming to Town* as a program that "answers some of the mysteries, myths, and questions surrounding the legend of Santa Claus"?

Some programs have been created specifically to meet the terms of the Children's Television Act—such as the syndicated programs *Not Just News*, *Wide World of Kids* and *Way Cool*. Though most of these new shows are oriented toward older kids, the real need is for educational programming for younger children. Furthermore, however interesting these programs may be, few in their target audiences will see them. Why? Because, according to the files studied by the Center for Media Education report, most of them are shown at times of the day when no self-respecting pre-teen or teen would be awake. Want to see hard-hitting issues such as teen AIDS, driving under the influence and gang violence addressed? If you're in Detroit, get up at 6 a.m. on Saturday for *Scratch*. That's a throw-away schedule slot, when advertisers rarely want to buy time.

The study demonstrates once again that broadcasters only have an interest in the public interest when somebody makes it interesting for them if they don't. The report's conclusion calls for closer scrutiny of broadcaster behavior toward kids, both by the FCC and Congress.

Thanks for nothing

Finally, the long-debated legislation reregulating the cable industry is law, having been passed over the prone body of President Bush. The legislation's supporters claim the law will lower your cable bill. Bush, along with the cable industry, believed more legislation would just result in higher costs for consumers. But despite Congress' first-ever override of a Bush veto, lawmakers missed an opportunity for real reform of the cable business. The industry is rife with problems that affect not only service, price and quality of programming, but also the kind of information a democratic society gets on its most important mass medium.

Cable—a centralized, conglomerated industry in which the guys who own the transmission wire also control most of the programming—has held consumers hostage ever since the 1984 Cable Act released it from local regulatory vigilance. The Cable Act of 1992 was a big chance to undo some of the damage.

Instead, we now have legislation that still makes no public-interest demands on cable service. There still is no protection for cable-access services—the local channels for government, education and public access. Indeed, this legislation puts cable-access services at even more of a disadvantage than before. Now, an unused cable-access channel can be seized for other uses, making it that much harder to regain. Meanwhile, some of the 1992 act's provisions are legally shaky. And its provisions to expand the market—including forcing program providers to sell cable's competitors—probably just won't work. Finally, the bill leaves the regulatory architecture to the Federal Communications Commission, which, aside from being underfinanced, has a strong deregulatory bent these days.

The law doesn't necessitate rate increases, but history shows that cabling will use any excuse to raise your bill. We still need laws that put citizens and their information needs into the cable picture.

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Malcolm X

Continued from page 18

stage, entertaining audiences," writes Perry. Malcolm even had a stage name, Jack Carlton, and confessed to some friends he wanted to be a star.

In prison, Malcolm's hatred of religion was such that inmates called him "Satan." But after converting to Islam, he compared himself to Aaron, Moses' spokesman during his confrontations with the Pharaohs. His prison letters, in which he said he had escaped the "nails of death" in order to "lift the crown of thorns" from black people, suggest "a desire for martyrdom," Perry believes. Malcolm took to calling himself "J.C." His friend Jarvis assumed this signified Malcolm's stage name, Jack Carlton. But another inmate thought it stood for Jesus Christ—which Malcolm said

stood for "justice crushed."

In later life, these two roles—prophet and entertainer—were fused in a way that prefigured later "black culture heroes" such as Bob Marley. But unlike many public figures, Malcolm declined to profit from his popularity. In contrast with the utter venality of the Nation of Islam, Malcolm comes off very well indeed. (One of Elijah Muhammad's daughters told a sister-in-law, "We'd better get all we can before these fools who are following my father wake up.") Malcolm's almost saintly asceticism had its downside, however: He left his wife Betty and his five daughters almost totally unprepared financially to face life without him.

"FICTION AND MYTH"

Some Malcolm-ites will be offended by Perry's complex warts-and-all interpretation. But the composite portrait is one char-

acterized by admiration and respect. "Malcolm's greatness was not his ego-boosting attempt to counteract white ethnocentrism with black ethnocentrism, but his enormous capacity for intellectual, moral and political growth," writes Perry.

That Perry neither deifies nor vilifies Malcolm is of great importance at a time when the mass-marketing of "Malcolm" threatens to be eclipsed completely by what Perry calls "fiction and myth." The reality as presented here is more profound than any fiction. That Malcolm came so far only makes the rapid transformations of the last year of his life all the more astounding.

In the end, Malcolm succeeded in transforming the "ravages" of his own life into a "chronology of change," as he told Alex Haley. It is this propensity for change that is his greatest legacy to Americans of all colors.

In his last year, he had dropped his opposition to interracial marriage, renounced black nationalism as a viable political goal and suggested that blacks must return to Africa culturally instead of physically—thus helping set off a cultural transformation still in motion.

"The niche he ultimately carved for himself in history was largely the result of his unique ability to transform his own personal struggle for identity into a universal one, and to liberate his ardent followers from the kind of conflict about skin color that had afflicted him all his life," Perry writes. "By transforming black fear into white fear, he irrevocably altered America's political landscape."

Gregory Stephens has a master's degree in Interracial Communication and Culture from California State University, Hayward.

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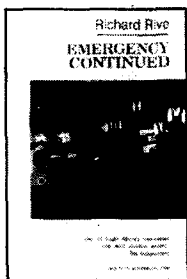
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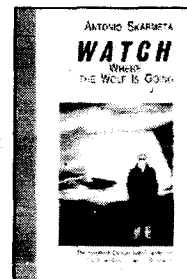
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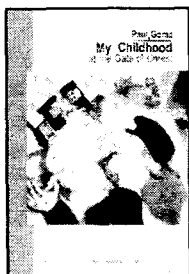
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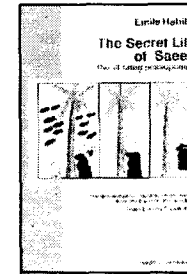
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for Every Occasion
By Norman Solomon
Dell, 295 pp., \$5.99

By David Futrelle

GEORGE ORWELL WAS not the first to observe that political rhetoric is at once vaporous and vile, but, unlike most critics before and since, he explained why this was so. "Political language," he observed, "is designed to make lies sound truthful and

LANGUAGE

murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind."

This was not mere literary criticism. Orwell's analysis was driven by real moral outrage: Euphemism not only robs language of its vitality but serves to disguise the often sordid actions of governments and parties, to evade the brutal truth. Orwell did not like to mince words, and he did not like it when others did: "Defenseless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called *pacification*." This was written in 1946, back when the Defense Department was still called, more properly, the Department of War.

DEFINING DOUBLESPEAK

The spirit of George Orwell underlies two new books, both attempts to penetrate the clouds of rhetorical evasion and obfuscation that hover around our current political discourse. Edward Herman, best known as the author (with Noam Chomsky) of the classic *Manufacturing Consent*, returns to his preoccupation with the language of free-world propaganda in his book *Beyond Hypocrisy*, which combines an often-trenchant essay on the basic principles of modern doublespeak with a lengthy "doublespeak dictionary" to help aspiring media critics sort through the newspapers on their own—and to provide a few laughs on the way.

Norman Solomon, a media critic with the group Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), takes a slightly different approach, designing his book as a tongue-in-cheek "politician's dictionary of buzzwords and doubletalk."

Herman sticks to the most loaded terms—"safety net," "peace process," "terrorism"—while Solomon wades further into the

Devil's dictionaries for contemporary politics

land of political cliché, providing not only definitions of terms but actual examples of evasive political doubletalk in action.

It's a rich subject, and each author has his moments. Solomon begins his book with two hilarious mock speeches, constructed entirely of buzzwords from his book arranged (like the book itself) in handy alphabetical order—the first speech a Buchananesque attack on strident "soak-the-rich spend-thrifts" and the like, the second an upbeat Reaganesque homily to home and hearth. "America is back, and bipartisan—biting the bullet with competitiveness, diplomacy, efficiency, empowerment ... and environmentalism," the second speech begins; it continues through the rest of the alphabet, chipper all the way, before arriving at the "values venerated by veterans: vigilance, vigor, volunteerism and Western values." (In their peculiar combination of hate and hope, cliché and evasion, these two speeches are a lot like the Republican convention.)

Of the two authors, Herman provides the sharper definitions; Solomon is no match for the sheer banality of the language he dis-

sects, and often falls into banality himself. Herman writes with the angry Olympian sarcasm perfected by his frequent collaborator (and rhetoric-untangler) Noam Chomsky. Though his approach is hit and miss, at least he often hits, as in his comparison of "Aggression, naked," with the vastly preferable "Aggression, property attired," and his wonderfully deconstructive definition of the "limousine liberal set" as "traitors to the limou-

sine owning set." (Well, I thought it was funny.)

Solomon, a bit limp when it comes to definitions, does his best with the sarcastic notes on usage that accompany many of his entries in his book. Under the phrase "God's help," Solomon notes, in his standard deadpan style, that this is a good all-purpose phrase—suggesting humility and a direct line to the deity—except that it won't work for minor politicians: "It might seem presumptuous to voice a request for 'God's help' if you're a county assessor or something like that." He's right, of course, but I'm sure it's been done.

NO JOKING MATTER

Overall, though, the books fall

flat. A "doublespeak dictionary" is a good idea, in theory at least, but it would take a Mencken or a Bierce to give life, and perhaps some real humor, to the definitions. Herman and Solomon are each out of their league; they're both good critics, but Ambrose Bierce they ain't. In part, the problem comes from the material itself. Orwell was right: Doublespeak is not only stupefying but dangerous. It's hard to make the "defense of the indefensible" into a joke. Did you hear the one about collateral damage? I thought not. It's just not funny.

David Futrelle is a graduate student in American history at Northwestern University.

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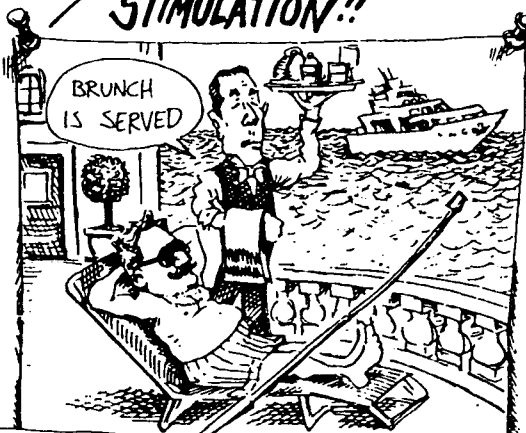
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Balkans

Continued from page 9

end the war in Bosnia, to restore and secure the sovereign borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina under a UN protectorate. All those responsible for war crimes, from politicians and generals

to foot soldiers involved in the pillage and plunder, should be tried before an international court and sentenced. Kosovo and Macedonia should also be placed under the arm of the U.N. and new democratic elections called in every former republic.

It is a well-propagated myth that the peo-

ples of former Yugoslavia cannot live together. Every day in the bunkers of Sarajevo, Serb, Croat and Muslim citizens lock arms with their neighbors. They sing and share their last bits of food and live together as they had for the last 40 years. The war in former Yugoslavia is not a popular, ethnic conflict, but a territorial war manipulated from the halls of power and waged by extremists.

Either as a loose confederation or as independent states, the peoples of the Balkans could coexist peacefully again. These states, however, must be civic states, based upon equality under citizenship, and not upon superiority according to nationality. They

must constitutionally guarantee minority rights, the rights of regional and ethnic autonomy and the integrity of borders. It would be the responsibility of the international community to closely monitor the respect of those rights, taking swift punitive action against violations.

A decisive international response six months ago could have prevented Bosnia from turning into the House of Usher. Once the conflict spills over into neighboring states, Europe will find itself drawn into the Balkan melee anyway. The longer large-scale intervention is postponed, the more costly and complex it will become in the future. ■

The Adventures of a Huge Mouth

By Peter Hannan

There he goes, dwelling on the negative again.



C A L E N D A R

NEW YORK

Tues., Nov. 3—8:00 p.m. until ? '92 Blues: An Election Night Commiseration, with Tuli Kupferberg and the Fuxxons, an evening of trenchant commentary, heated conversation, well-placed lampoons, network-channeled outrage, and whatever comestibles you jointly provide; \$5.

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Tues., Nov. 10—8:00 p.m. Panel discussion: Organizing for Health Care for the People, Gene Carroll, Francisca Cavazos, Eli Messinger, and Susan Rezvani; \$5.

Wed., Nov. 11—8:00 p.m. Lecture: The Politics of Perestroika: An Uncommon View, Carl Bloice; \$5.

Thurs., Nov. 12—8:00 p.m. Lecture: North vs. South: The New World Order, Phyllis Bennis; \$5.

Sun., Nov. 15—7:00 p.m. Performance: Dulambayan: People's Theater from the Philippines, performed by Chris Millado and Desa Quesada; \$10 suggested.

Tues., Nov. 17—8:00 p.m. Lecture: continuity and Realignment, Max Elbaum, a look at left institutions, organizations and publications in a period of ferment and realignment; \$5.

Wed., Nov. 18—8:00 p.m. Lecture/slide show: The Culture of Nature: North American Landscape from Disney to the Exxon Valdez, Alexander Wilson; \$5.

Thurs., Nov. 19—8:00 p.m. Discussion: Welcome to the New World Order, Carl Bloice and Clark Everling; \$5.

Fri., Nov. 20—7:00 p.m. Discussion: Not Just Black and White, Peter Kwong, Paul Robeson, Jr., and Morton Stavis, a look at conflict—and solidarity—in New York's diverse communities; \$5.

Sat., Nov. 21—7:00 p.m. Performance: Dulambayan: Peoples Theater from the Philippines, performed by Chris Millado and Desa Quesada; \$10 suggested.

Tues., Nov. 24—8:00 p.m. Lecture: The Social Service Factory, Michael Fabricant, a look at the changes undergone by the social services professions in the age of Reagan-Bush; \$5.

Mon., Nov. 30—8:00 p.m. Discussion: Environmental Racism, Michael Gelopter, Ben Goldman and Vernice Miller; \$5.

Thurs., Dec. 3—8:00 p.m. Discussion: Labor Faces the Global Economy, Ron Blackwell and Don Rojas; \$5.

Fri., Dec. 4—Sun., Dec. 6 Workshop: Education for Liberation: A Workshop in the Paulo Freire Methodology, with Brazilian Worker's Party activists Eleonora and Joao-Paulo Castano Ferreira (Dec. 4—7:00 p.m., public lecture, Introduction to the Paulo Freire Method; \$5.); tuition: \$50 suggested (write or call for more information).

Tues., Dec. 8—8:00 p.m., Panel discussion: Organizing for Health Care for the People, Marilyn Clement, Beth Harding, Nancy McKenzie and Karen Olson; \$5.

Thurs., Dec. 10—8:00 p.m. Lecture: Russia Update, Boris Kagarlitsky, \$10.

Thurs., Dec. 10—8:00 p.m. Lecture: A Brave New Eugenics: The Corporate Manipulation of Genetics, Stuart Newman; \$5.

Fri., Dec. 11—Sun., Dec. 13 Seminar: East Europe: A New Third World? Boris Kagarlit-

sky (write or call for more information).

The Fall term ends with a closing party at 3:00 p.m. on Sun., Dec. 13. Brazilian Worker's Party activists Eleonora and Joao-Paulo Castano Ferreira will be on hand to lead a workshop in the use of hand puppets to create and perform stories about classroom environments and relationships. For a complete catalog describing all events, write to the New York Marxist School, 79 Leonard St., New York, NY 10013, or call (212)914-0332.

CHICAGO November 14

Please join us at an urgent rally in support of the Cuban people to demand: •an end to the blockade and economic embargo by the U.S. government against Cuba; •no further military intervention by the U.S. against Cuba, and an end to the U.S. occupation of Guantanamo Bay; •lifting the restrictions imposed by the U.S. government that prohibit the freedom of travel to and from Cuba; •normalization of all relations between Cuba and the U.S. These actions against the Cuban people are actions against all people!!! Sat., Nov. 14, 1992, 3-7 p.m. Program starts at 4 p.m., DePaul University, Lincoln Park Campus, Schmidt Academic Center, Room 154, 2316 N. Kenmore (1 block west of Sheffield between Fullerton & Belden) CTA accessible: Howard El to Fullerton Stop; Fullerton #74 bus to Kenmore, #74 bus is wheel-chair accessible. Cultural events prior to and during rally. Speakers/presenters: Dr. Margaret Burroughs, founder of the Du Sable Museum of African-American history; Emma Lozano, President, Centro Sin Fronteras; William Taylor, President, Local 507, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union; Andres Gomez, Antonio Maceo Brigade; Pablo Medina, Chicago chair, Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Harry Fouché, Coalition for Democracy in Haiti; African National Congress official spokesperson. (Speakers list in formation; organization named for identification only.) Facility is wheel-chair accessible. \$5 donation; \$2 students and unemployed. Sponsored by the Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Cuba. For further information, call (312) 243-2777.

BOSTON November 21

"Homelands of the Mind: Israel, Palestine and Prospects for Middle East Peace" Room 312, Hynes Convention Center, Boston. November 21, all day \$15; \$10 (students). Panel topics: "From Likud to Labor," "Bilateral Talks," "Regional Issues: Arms, Water, Refugees," "A Perspective on Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism." Contact Middle East Justice Network, (617) 666-8061.

Chicago November 22

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By Woody Igou

...mountain-ridge, behold, when he had reached the top
out before him; and he stood still and was long silent. The
night, however, was cold at this height, and clear and starry.
I recognise my destiny, said he at last, sadly. Well! I am
ready. Now hath my last loneliness begun.
Ah, this sombre, sad sea, below me! Ah, this sombre nec-
turnal vexation! Ah, fate and sea! To you must I now go down!
Before my highest mountain do I stand, and before my
longest wandering: therefore must I first go deeper down than
I ever ascended.
—Deeper down into pain than I ever ascended, even into its
darkest flood! So willeth my fate. Well! I am ready.
Whence come the highest mountains? so did I once ask.
Then did I learn that they come out of the sea.
That testimony is inscribed on their stones, and on the walls
of their summits. Out of the deepest must the highest come
to its height.—
Thus spake Zarathustra on the ridge of the mountain where
it was cold: when, however, he came into the vicinity of the
sea, and at last stood alone amongst the cliffs, then had he be-
come weary on his way, and cager than ever before.
Everything as yet sleepeth, said he; even the sea sleepeth.
Drowsily and strangely doth its eye gaze upon me.
But it breatheth warmly—I feel it. And I feel also that it
dreameth. It toseth about dreamily on hard billows.
Hark! Hark! How it dreameth!

...greatest danger!
...the way to thy greatness: it must now be thy best
courage that there is no longer any path behind thee!
Thou goest the way to thy greatness: here shall no one steal
after thee! Thy foot itself hath effaced the path behind thee,
and over it standeth written: Impossibility.
And if all ladders henceforth fail thee, then must thou learn
to mount upon thine own head: how couldst thou mount up-
ward otherwise?
Upon thine own head, and beyond thine own heart! Now
must the gentlest in thee become the hardest.
He who hath always much-indulged himself, sickeneth at
last by his much-indulgence. Praises on what maketh hardy! I
do not praise the land where butter and honey—flow!
To learn to look away from oneself, is necessary in order to
see many things:—this hardness is needed by every mountain-
climber.
He, however, who is obtrusive with his eyes as a discernor,
how can he ever see more of anything than its foreground?
But thou, O Zarathustra, wouldst view the ground of every-
thing, and its background: thus must thou mount even above
thyself—up, upwards, until thou hast even thy stars under
thee!
Yea! To look down upon myself, and even upon my stars:
that only would I call my summit, that hath remained for me
as my last summit!—

"How wonderful to come out of the mountains to see all you wonderful people."
—George Bush, press conference
Wyoming, July 17, 1992

When Bushathustra was 68 years old, he left his white house and went into the mountains. There he enjoyed his spirit and his solitude and for 10 minutes did not tire of it. Suddenly, after staring at a weather vane, a change came over his heart and he stepped before his handlers and spoke thus:

"For three and one half years you have guided and prodded me. I have shifted my course like the wind does shift. In the past 10 minutes, I have looked into my soul and its discomfort. This inward look has strengthened me, and now my soul glows like burnished stone. Therefore, I cast off the Falseman and his petty panderings. Now, born anew, I have become the Truman."

Having spoken, Bushathustra descended alone from the mountain, wearing the fedora and wire-rimmed glasses of the Truman. As he passed through the forest, he became afraid, for he had no distractions and was bored. To vanquish his fear, he sat down on a rock and began to write thank-you notes to various heads of state. All at once, there stood before him a hermit in tattered rags. The hermit spoke to Bushathustra:

"You are no stranger to me, wanderer. Four years ago you passed my way telling me to put my faith in the trickle-down of the brook. I am not fooled, thou art Bushathustra in the disguise of the Truman."

Bushathustra answered cheerfully:

"O hermit, despite your hollow cheeks and tattered robes, are you not freer and better off than when I last passed?"

The hermit answered thus:

"Nay, the brook to which I put mine ear is soiled and stinketh; the fish no longer spawn. Be gone Bushathustra."

When the hermit finished speaking he chased Bushathustra through the woods with a thorny switch. Bushathustra walked for hours before coming to a glen. In the clearing stood a hunter clad in leather with a bow at his side. Bushathustra, relieved at the company and hungry, spoke to the hunter thus:

"Friend, I have been wandering all day, and I am hungry. I will help you with your hunt, if need be, for a portion of meat. I once helped kill a sick bear. I am known as Truman."

And the hunter spoke to Bushathustra thus:

"You look weary and lost, and therefore I will feed you if I can. I am hunting the swift mountain deer, who cannot be shot while running. How can you, a stranger to these woods, be of aid to me? Do you, Truman, know where the buck stops?"

Bushathustra, with a hollow laugh, answered thus:

"I have hunted the buck before, and wily is its nature. It darts to and fro. Often, I have not glimpsed it in the trees, even when it stood fairly next to my bow. Alas, the buck is a phantom that rarely stops."

When Bushathustra turned around to face the hunter after his soliloquy, the hunter had vanished into the forest.

As twilight approached, Bushathustra looked for a warm place to sleep. Climbing through the steep boulders, he found a cave emanating the warm glow of fire. He entered the cave and found an old wise man meditating in the firelight. He spoke to the old man thus:

"I am Truman, and I am making my way down the mountain. May I stay here with you until daylight?"

The wise man eyed Bushathustra warily and spoke at last:

"I am an old man, and I have seen much. I knew Truman. Can it be possible? Have you not heard that Truman is dead?"

Bushathustra dropped to his knees weeping and threw his fedora and wire-rimmed glasses into the fire. Voice cracking, he spoke:

"Verily, I am undone. I have lived too long among the advisers: I have listened too long to the polls: now I am no man. I shift like sand before a storm: I am beyond good and evil. Do I still live?"

As he turned the flames with a stick, the wise man spoke to Bushathustra thus:

"I know thee, Bushathustra, and I have followed thy life's tortured path. You have undergone the three metamorphoses of the spirit; how the spirit becomes a camel, and the camel a lion; and the lion, finally, a child. You have borne much and knelt like the camel as your burdened spirit made its way into the desert. There your spirit became the lion; you have fought there against the great dragon; you have shouted, 'I will' and drawn a line in the sand. But even the lion cannot create new values. The lion must become the innocent child. The child is a new beginning. The child creates, with the first movement, a sacred 'Yes.' You must begin to go under, Bushathustra."

Exhausted, Bushathustra fell to the ground and slept. It was a sleep of renewal and forgetting. He awoke transformed and radiantly alive. His heart cried out: I will go under, as low as man can go, without the shackles of more timid men. I will go negative and strip the bark from those who dare oppose my will. I will embrace the sacred "Yes." His thoughts swam with visions of great dams, ships, aircraft and magnificent projects created of his own will to power. He gesticulated wildly at the sun with his arms and shouted:

"This is my dawn! Everything is possible with 'Yes!' I can be anyone I want to be! I am change itself!"

Thus spake Bushathustra, and, feeling almost weightless, he stumbled down the mountain, marveling at the lightness of his missteps.

Woody Igou is an attorney and writer living in Florida.